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ABSTRACT

This report focuses on what is known about the development and control of human behavior that is relevant to school teachers. It examines and summarizes several approaches to behavior management--behavior modification, group dynamics, Glasser's reality therapy approach, the Adlerian approach espoused by Dreikurs, Kohlberg's theory of moral development, and learning theory. The actual and ideal involvement of students and teachers in decision-making is explored and the relationship between teachers' attributes and classroom management is discussed. The report is based on published materials and is relevant at the elementary and secondary levels. It is supplemented by a report on a survey of local elementary school teachers' opinions of and attitudes toward classroom management and related issues. (Author/IRT)

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The Board of Education for the Borough of York

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A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF DISCIPLINARY THEORIES AND PRACTICE

Author: Susan Sutcliffe

Editor: Suzanne Megson

June 1975

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A CRITICAL EXAMINATION

OF

DISCIPLINARY THEORIES AND PRACTICE* **

Author: Susan Sussman

Editor: Suzanne Ziegler

June, 1976

* An abridged version of this report appeared as an Appendix to the Draft Report of the Task Force on Discipline, The Board of Education for the Borough of York, February, 1976.

** Appended to this report is the analysis of a survey of public school teachers' practices and opinions re school and classroom discipline.

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I. INTRODUCTION

There is nothing very new about the concern of parents and educators for the proper decorum of the children in their care. One archeologist reports that his translation of the markings on an artifact dating back to ancient Sumria proves that at least one adult was perplexed and troubled by the disobedience of a child 4000 years ago (Sprinthall and Sprinthall, 1974). An elementary school teacher, employed in eighteenth century Massachusetts, reported that the disciplinary tactics he found it necessary to use included rapping students about the head and face, weilding blows with canes, hands, books, rods and rulers, and forcing children to maintain painful postures such as kneeling on triangular blocks of wood, or upon dried peas (Bernard, 1830).*

Current literature from the field of education suggests that while the concern for discipline in the schools may not be new, the degree of that concern has increased significantly in recent years and continues to grow. Further it is said that the sympathies of many adults who once endorsed policies of permissive leniency have now shifted, or are in the process of shifting, towards a definite preference for any techniques that will restore "order" to the classroom, and give them greater control over the conduct of the young. The five most recent annual polls of public attitudes towards the schools, conducted in the U.S. by Gallup, support this suggestion. Discipline consistently ranks at the top of the list of things that trouble the public when it evaluates the schools. Specifically seeking a Canadian perspective on the issue, Gallup pollsters here find that a majority of the population interviewed believe current discipline practices are not strict enough. That this

*See Chamberlin, page 5.

sentiment is growing is made apparent when one compares the figures from Canadian surveys conducted in 1954, 1969 and 1974. In response to the question, "Do you think that discipline in the public schools in (your) area is too strict, or not strict enough?" in 1954 only 35% felt that discipline needed to be more severe. In 1974, 56% of the population interviewed gave that response. It is significant to note that of the 21 percentage point increase seen in two decades, a rise of 12 points occurred in the five years between 1969 and 1974. The converts to the call for stricter discipline appear to come from the group which previously believed that the amount of discipline was "just about right", over the last twenty years the portion of the population in favour of less strict controls has remained at a stable, low figure of about 4%. While respondents over 30 years of age were most strongly inclined to want to see discipline tightened up, at every age level respondents were more likely to favour stricter controls. It is interesting to see that even among high school students, the majority of whom (60%) believed discipline was "just about right", the portion of students endorsing tighter reins was significantly larger than that group asking for fewer controls.

Can a teacher hope to find measures that will satisfactorily control the wide range of potential violations of the classroom? Will a method that corrects one type of deviance correct another? One would expect that a presentation of the current thinking about discipline in the schools could give answers to these questions, and beyond this be able to specify what the techniques are, and how they might be put into effect. In fact the literature is more than overflowing with "suggestions" and "hints" to teachers and administrators for ways that classroom decorum

may be established, maintained, improved, or restored. These range from platitudes ("show Johnny that you care") to very specific management techniques ("reward him with the words, 'Good boy!' only when he has stayed in his seat for five minutes"). There is no significant body of experimental research that has compared the effectiveness of one technique over another, and little or no research that tells anything about the long-term effects of particular techniques. It is relevant here to explain why this is so.

The validity and value of any experimental research must be judged according to two types of criteria. Internal validity refers to the degree to which a research plan is able to isolate the variable under investigation (i.e. the specific disciplinary technique) from all the other potential variables which might affect the experimental situation. This isolation can happen only if all the other factors which could vary (i.e. teacher personality, student personality, class size, types of misconduct, social milieu, etc.) can be identified and controlled. In other words, internal validity is a measure of the extent to which one may safely conclude that the difference between results in the experimental and control conditions is attributable to the variable in question, and to nothing else. External validity refers to the extent to which the research results may reasonably be generalized and applied to other, non-experimental, real-life situations. Studies conducted in laboratories with scrupulous control over all the possible variables and likely to be high in internal validity, but considerably lower in external validity. The closer an experimental situation resembles real life, the lower the probability is that one variable alone can be shown to have caused the results. • The problems of internal and external validity are especially important as far as educational research

is concerned, and this is specifically evident as one examines the paucity of material experimentally comparing discipline techniques.

It has been proven that when people know they are subjects in an experiment and are under observation, they are likely to behave in manners different from their natural performance. When the subjects of observation are teachers and students, and the dimension under inspection is discipline in the classroom - or the teacher's ability to "control" the students - the effects of the experimental awareness are likely to be most strong. In the first place, a teacher's capacity for controlling student behaviour is often regarded as synonymous with her teaching competence in general. In this case the experimental situation is frequently perceived as threatening. Under this sort of pressure it is unlikely that a teacher would be able to behave naturally. Furthermore, teachers who have been instructed to change only one specific aspect of their teaching behaviour, in a very specific way, often have a difficult time keeping from making other minor and major changes simultaneously.

An example of the difficulties encountered by researchers who aim for results that are both internally and externally valid is provided by some very interesting research conducted by Kounin (1970). His researchers identified a "ripple effect" in the management of misbehaviour in group situations; disciplinary actions by the teacher, directed towards a "deviant" student, appeared to influence and impinge upon the witnesses to the altercation. The focus of the research was to discover how differences in "desist" techniques (disciplinary actions) affected bystanders differently. "Does a teacher's technique of handling a misbehaviour make any difference in how students who are audience to this event react? Do differences in desist techniques produce different effects upon attitudes or overt behaviour?

Is one technique more effective than another?" Only one quality of a desist technique consistently showed an effect in all the experimental and field studies. It was found that teachers who desisted a misbehaviour with anger, punitiveness, or roughness, were most likely to find their pupil audiences reacting with more behaviour disruption, or marked emotional discomfort. Except for this one finding, when the researchers used experimental situations (high in internal validity) and field studies (high in external validity) they received exactly opposite results from the two conditions. "In all the experiments differences in qualities of desist techniques made a difference in how audience students reacted... On the other hand, in none of the experiments did the manipulation of prevailing variables (such as student motivation level) make any difference in how audience students reacted to desist events... In contrast, the field studies showed that prevailing variables were the significant determinants of persons' reactions to desist events, and that desist qualities, as such were not." (Kounin 1970, p. 56)

Because there simply is no significant corpus of data that reliably indicates which discipline methods will be most effective in the classroom situations faced by most teachers, this paper will present instead a summary of the current thinking about discipline in the schools, focusing on the wide range of techniques recommended by authorities in the field. It is probable that teachers who want or need to improve the quality of discipline in their classrooms will benefit from familiarity with all of the models summarized below, so that they may borrow from each the aspects which seem most suitable to their individual situations.

Discipline in the schools cannot be considered in a vacuum, isolated from such fundamental concerns as the philosophy and goals that guide the processes in any educational system. It is always frustrating to hear teachers debate issues of methodology, when they have failed to reach any agreement as to what their goals are. It is indisputable that the goals of education should to a large extent determine disciplinary policies, and these goals must be vitally linked to the social and political attitudes of the society in general. To speak of techniques alone would not suffice. All of the discipline methods included below have evolved based on assumptions about the basic nature of the child and have been shaped by attitudes that prefer one type of social system over another.

II. LEARNING THEORY PRINCIPLES AND BEHAVIOUR MODIFICATION PRACTICES

When discipline problems make it impossible for a class to function optimally, and the teacher has the certain feeling that "something has got to change around here", she may choose between two paths to change. She may undertake efforts to change the misbehaving child, or she may decide instead to change the educational situation in which misconduct arises. A quick perusal of the shelves that carry discipline "how-to" books attests to the fact that in the most recent decade there has been increased attention given to those techniques that promise to enable one person (the teacher) to change and control the behaviour of another (the pupil). Seventy years ago a Russian scientist named Pavlov taught a dog to salivate to the sound of a bell. Later B.F. Skinner taught a pigeon to play ping pong. Now some declare that you can teach almost anything to anyone - new tricks to an old dog, appropriate behaviours to a "confirmed" classroom discipline problem. The behaviourist point of view holds that the classroom teacher needs first to understand the laws of learning theory, and second to apply these laws systematically through behaviour modification techniques. What follows, presumably, is the establishment of an educational domain marked by order and total teacher control over student behaviour. The attraction of learning theory and behaviour modification techniques is strong for many because of the clear and logical way they seem to explain everything. Anything a person does, according to the model, is determined by the effects his actions have had in the <u>past</u>; if we can control the consequences of his actions in the <u>present</u>, we can direct and predict his behaviour in the <u>future</u>. In these chaotic times a model that makes sense of past, present, and future has undeniable appeal. What is more, the learning theory principles strike a cord with the common sense of laymen.

In an attempt to make psychology a more scientific enterprise, one characterized by objective data and testable predictions, the behaviourist school of psychology proposed that the only meaningful way to investigate human behaviour (or the behaviour of any organism for that matter) was by observing it. Any aspect of the organism's repertoire that could not be directly observed (i.e. thoughts, ideas, or feelings) was excluded from the psychologist's concerns. The systematic observation of the behaviours of countless animals and people led to the development of a set of principles which described the consistent patterns of behaviours identified in the investigations. Psychologists began, then, to make predictions of future behaviours based on the principles they had extracted from their observations; when the predictions were borne out learning theory principles assumed a prominent position in the thinking of those scientists seeking to explain human behaviour. In subtle progression what began as the description of certain relationships came to be held as explanation of behaviour. Since learning theorists did not include non-observable processes such as thinking, feeling, and imagining in their observations, what evolved was a model which explained human behaviour without any reference or credit given to those unobservable human processes. So that today, in fact, the position held by the most orthodox learning theorists and strictest behaviour modifiers (practitioners of learning theory principles) is that what a person thinks or feels is of no value in understanding his behaviour, or in helping one to modify that behaviour.

Two types of behaviour are recognized by learning theory. Involuntary (or respondent) behaviour is vitally connected to the satisfaction of survival needs, and results from specific stimuli in a person's environment which regularly elicits the behaviour. All human beings have

the same repertoire of respondent behaviours - for example, all mouths water at the sight of food. Voluntary behaviour (or operant behaviour), on the other hand, appears at first to occur randomly, and to be highly individualized. "This type of behaviour need not be correlated with any known or recognizable stimuli. Most of man's higher order behaviour, that is, behaviour not dealing with basic life processes, falls into the category of operant behaviour. Certainly, all of that behaviour learned and required to success in school falls into the operant category." (Brown, 1971, p. 4)

The process by which operant behaviours are developed and/or strengthened is called operant conditioning. Fundamental to this process is the coupling of random, voluntary behaviours with consequences that are either satisfying or unsatisfying to the performer of the action. A consequence is judged to be satisfying if, and only if, by pairing it with a particular behaviour the probability of that behaviour being repeated in the future under similar circumstances is increased. Any stimulus, which when paired with a behaviour increases the chance that the behaviour will be repeated, is regarded as a positive reinforcer. It is significant to note that what is positive is determined solely by its effects on a behaviour. Nothing is positive in and of itself. Jane likes ice cream. When you reward a good spelling performance with ice cream, Jane's spelling performance in the future is likely to be good again. John, on the other hand, hates ice cream. If the consequences of his good spelling performance is that he is given a dish of ice cream to eat, in the future changes are John will be less likely to perform as well. Dollar (1972) identifies three categories of reinforcers useful in the classroom setting. Tangible objects valued by the child, such as candy, toys, or books are called

Concrete Reinforcers. Activity Reinforcers permit the pupil to engage in an activity which is valued by him. Examples of activity reinforcers include permission to run in the school yard, to serve as a monitor, or to care for a class pet. Social Reinforcers, often the most subtle of the three types, include verbal and non-verbal consequences to a specific behaviour. Non-verbal reinforcers include smiles, standing close to a student, and making eye contact with the student at the child's eye level. Verbal rewards are usually expressions of approval or expressions of self-exposure by the teacher that suggest that the child's behaviour is pleasing. For example, "I feel great when you do your work so well", would be an exemplary verbal reinforcement. Dollar is careful to note that verbal reinforcements should commend the behaviour rather than the person - that is, "Your work is good" rather than "You are good". To a large extent the success of any teacher's efforts to apply learning theory in the classroom will be determined by her ability to identify appropriate reinforcers. This task is especially difficult when the teacher is diagnosing a behaviour problem. She must then look to the child's environment to determine in what way he is being reinforced for the inappropriate behaviour. The child may be receiving concrete, activity or social reinforcements for his inappropriate behaviour, without anyone intentionally reinforcing that behaviour. Once the reinforcer of inappropriate behaviour is identified the teacher must try to eliminate it.

When a person acts in such a way as to avoid unpleasant consequences, rather than specifically to gain favourable ones, the consequences themselves are called aversive stimuli. If, by removing aversive stimuli the probability of a particular behaviour being repeated is increased, then the aversive stimuli has served as <u>negative reinforcement</u>. Johnny throws

his coat on the classroom floor. His teacher chides, "You must live in quite a messy barn, little piggy!" On the days that follow Johnny takes great care to hang his coat on the hook, thus avoiding his teacher's ridicule. Ridicule, in this case, was an aversive stimuli and a negative reinforcer because it increased the probability that John would, in the future, hang up his coat. Threats, scolding, removal of privileges, and poor grades are among the commonly used negative reinforcers in school. An aversive stimulus may be used either as a negative reinforcer, or simply as punishment. Punishment is an aversive stimulus used simply to reduce the rate of a particular response. Once more it is important to appreciate that one man's meat is another man's poison - that something is an aversive stimulus only if it has a specific effect or a particular person's behaviour. One student will do anything to avoid a failing grade. Another could not care less whether his report card is studded with A's or F's.

Learning theory asserts that all voluntary behaviour is learned. One way that new behaviours are learned is by "modelling" or imitation of the behaviour of another. Modelling is most likely to occur if the "model" is identified as a powerful, prestigious figure. The chances that a behaviour will be imitated are greater when the behaviour seems to win favourable consequences for the model. In this way then, one person's behaviour is determined not only by his own personal history of reinforcement, but also by the pattern of reinforcement that he observes in his models.* If a totally novel behaviour is required of a person, and there

* In the educational setting teachers are powerful models for behaviour, as are student leaders.

is no appropriate model for that behaviour, the new behaviour may be taught, according to learning theory principles. For example, a teacher wishes to increase the amount, and improve the quality of Louie's peer interaction, because he tends to be very socially isolated. At first she will reward him when he is simply in spatial proximity to another child. Later she will reward him only if he talks to another child. Later still she will reward him only if he initiates interaction with another child. The process proceeds in this manner of successive approximations of the goal behaviour, until the goal is realized. Shaping by rewarding successive approximations of desirable behaviour has been proven effective in a wide range of activities.

There are two explanations offered by learning theorists for inappropriate or maladaptive behaviours. Either an individual has not had the opportunity to learn appropriate responses or, somewhere along the line, intentionally or inadvertently, the person has been and continues to be reinforced for the undesirable action. In the behaviourist model, an undesirable behaviour is eliminated (or extinguished) by consistent non-reinforcement. That is, the behaviour that is no longer rewarded is expected, eventually, to "drop-out" of the behavioural repertoire.

Up to this point the discussion of reinforcement principles may largely have mirrored at least the intentions of most teachers - that is, to reward desirable and discourage undesirable behaviours in the classroom. Learning theory, however, emphasizes the positive action, and also emphasizes total consistency of application - two emphases unlikely to be realized in most classrooms. Behaviour modification's most impressive results are yielded when desirable behaviours are

consistently rewarded. The results of non-reinforcement or punishment of undesirable responses are less impressive. Rewarding positive behaviour, with consistency, almost always increases the probability that the response will be repeated, while the extinction process is much slower and less certain. Yet in the average classroom a teacher is usually more inclined to take desirable responses, when they occur, for granted, while channelling her energy into confrontations that might discourage troublemakers. According to the model presented here that energy is misdirected.

It is not sufficient to understand that good behaviours should be rewarded; the effectiveness of reward is conditional upon the timing with which it is delivered. Rewards should always follow the actual behaviours rather than promises of the behaviour; rewards should follow desired responses immediately, lest there be any doubt about which behaviour is being rewarded. Studies comparing the effectiveness of rewards and punishments given immediately or delayed make this point clear.

In addition, it has been demonstrated that the scheduling of rewards can be arranged in several different fashions, each schedule bearing its own advantages and drawbacks. Teachers, for example, are rewarded for their efforts by monthly pay cheques that arrive at this fixed interval regardless of their performance during the month. Factory workers are paid according to the number of pieces they produce; they work according to a fixed ratio reinforcement schedule. Ten pieces of merchandise will always earn the worker five dollars, whether it takes him five minutes or five weeks to produce them. Gamblers, according to learning theory, practise that most compelling occupation because they get paid off less predictably. Presumably they never really know when their horse will come in, or in other words, when they will be reinforced for their efforts. One week they may

win five out of ten bets. Then they may bet fifty times in a month without picking a winner. When the number of times an action must be repeated before a reward is given varies, the reinforcement schedule is called a variable ratio schedule. The variable ratio schedule of reinforcement has been demonstrated most effective in establishing and maintaining behaviour patterns over a long period of time. Behaviours rewarded in this manner are slowest to extinguish because no pattern of reinforcement has been permitted to develop.* "The middle class child persists because, having been reinforced in this manner in the past, he has learned that he will eventually be rewarded if his activity is maintained long enough. Most good teachers use this type of reinforcement schedule, although not necessarily by design." (Brown, 1971, p. 9) The great importance of consistency in the application of behaviour modification techniques is apparent when one considers a case where non-reinforcement (i.e. ignoring) of an undesirable behaviour is not followed through. While extinction is the goal of consistent non-reinforcement, giving in by paying attention, and thus rewarding the behaviour just once, changes non-reinforcement to variable ratio reinforcement, and the result is the most effective schedule for maintaining a behaviour.

Whether the teacher wishes to employ behaviour modification techniques preventively or correctively in the classroom, there are primarily four steps that underlie their application. First, the teacher must identify and specify exactly what behaviour is to be established, increased or eliminated. While the teacher's goal may be broad, like "getting Linda to cooperate with the other children", she must pinpoint a discrete behaviour which indicates the accomplishment of the conceptual

*

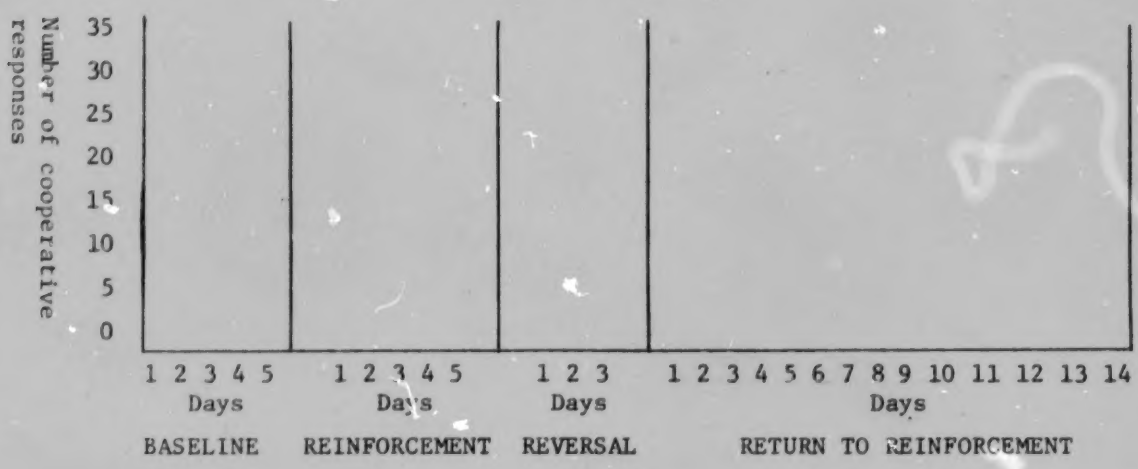
Variable ratio reinforcements most closely resemble the uncontrolled learning experiences on which the behavioural repertoires of all people have been built.

goal. "If concepts such as appreciation, understanding, or attitudes are to have meaning, these meanings should be defined in ways conducive to assessment." (Madsen, 1970, p. 21) From the behaviourist point of view the only way to determine if a concept has been realized is to translate it into observable behaviours. In the example, then, Linda's cooperation could be identified as each instance when Linda volunteers to assist another student. The second step in the behaviour modification procedure is to make an objective record of the frequency of the specified behaviour before there has been any systematic intervention. This record forms the first part of a behaviour modification chart. There are several ways a teacher can keep a tally of the frequency of a behaviour. She can make a mark on a tally sheet every time the behaviour is displayed. She can make a pile of paper slips with a predetermined number of slips in it, and withdraw one slip every time the behaviour occurs. She may use a wrist counter if she has access to one. Sometimes it is useful to put a piece of masking tape on the child's desk, so that each time the behaviour occurs a mark may be made on the tape. The teacher can be responsible for the tally, or she may recruit volunteer parents or para-professionals for this project. Sometimes a positive change in behaviour is elicited just by having the student keep his own tally. Whatever way this tally is achieved, the period before intervention is known as <u>baseline</u>, and what one wants to determine is the difference between the frequency of the behaviour during baseline and during the period of reinforcement that follows. Therefore, the third step in the behaviour modification process is the systematic application of specific consequences (reinforcements) to the given behaviour. According to the reinforcement schedule the teacher

has chosen as most appropriate, she will consistently reinforce the desired behaviour, or non-reinforce or punish the undersired behaviour. It is most important that only one type of reinforcement or punishment be used at a time for a specific behaviour; otherwise it would be impossible to determine what specifically produces the intervention effect. The second part of a behaviour modification chart shows the tally of performance during the reinforcement period. If a desirable behaviour occurs more frequently during the period of reinforcement, or an undesirable behaviour less frequently it is suggested that the change is attributable to the reinforcement. A fourth step in the process that is recommended by researchers is called the "reversal of contingencies" period, wherein the reinforcement procedure is discontinued completely and the teacher tries to respond to the child exactly as she did during baseline. Once more a tally of the student's behaviour is kept. If the rate of desirable responses or undesirable responses resembles the baseline period more than the reinforcement period, it is assumed that the change during reinforcement was definitely due to the reinforcement. Finally, once the effectivenss of the reinforcement is demonstrated, the teacher may resume the systematic application of the reinforcement expecting that the behavioural change she is working for will be accomplished to a significant degree. Figure 1 gives an example of what a behaviour modification chart, recording the effects of reinforcement on cooperative behaviour, might look like.

FIGURE 1

A Behaviour Modification Chart of Reinforcement on Cooperative Behaviour



An example of behaviour modification applied to decrease the frequency of a specific, undesirable classroom behaviour emitted by a child is provided below. Holms (1966) reports the effects of consistently applied reinforcement techniques on a nine-year-old boy who exhibited disruptive classroom behaviour. The child's teacher was instructed first to record the frequency of the disruptions caused by the student. Then she ignored disruptive behaviours, and rewarded appropriate ones. When the boy's deviations were very extreme he was kept after school and sent home on a later school bus, so that he lost the peer attention because he was with children he did not know. His correct behaviours were rewarded with teacher praise, peer-approval, and appointment as blackboard monitor. Initially disruptive behaviours increased as "pay-off" was withdrawn, but after this initial rise maladaptive behaviours progressively decreased, until they were entirely eliminated by the end of the third week.

Preventive applications of learning theory for classroom and industry have been developed with a marked degree of success. The basis of two applications to be presented here is a system of Contingency Managagement (CM). By using a contingency management system individual students may be directed to perform desirable instructional activities or desirable classroom conduct as determined by the teacher, or entire classes may be so channelled. Harless and Lineberry (1971) call CM a "motivational technique for systematically increasing the probability that a student will engage in instructional activity by making his high priority purposes contingent upon satisfying the objectives of the instructional activity." Premack's Principle is the basis for the system:

> If an organism is more likely to engage in behaviour B than in behaviour A, then behaviour A can be made more probable by making the opportunity to engage in behaviour B contingent upon displaying the behaviour A. (O'Leary, 1972, p. 29)

Affectionately put, this is "Grandma's Law" - "first clean your plate, then you may have your dessert." Making Grandma's Law operational in the classroom proceeds in the following manner. First, the desirable behaviour must be identified. This step is identical with the first general step in any behaviour modification practice, with the qualification that CM is always a positive system, giving rewards for appropriate behaviours. The teacher is required to carefully assess what behaviours are required for the purpose of achieving her instructional objectives, and then she must precisely describe the behaviours to the students. Homme (1970) recommends that the goal behaviour call for accomplishment rather than obedience. "Reward for accomplishment leads to independence. Reward for obedience leads only to

continued dependence on the person to whom the child learns to be obedient." It is not sufficent that a behaviour be named; some criteria for evaluating whether the behaviour has been satisfactorily accomplished must be established, and agreed upon by teacher and student. For example, a teacher may want a particular student to read and demonstrate understanding of five pages in his reading book; the behavioural objective (behaviour A) will be: "Curtis will read five pages in On These Streets, and answer all the questions on page 6." The criteria by which the child's performance is evaluated will be the number of correct responses to the comprehension questions. Often the teacher will evaluate the student's performance herself, but sometimes she may permit a student to act as "criteria monitor". Serving as criteria monitor for a fixed amount of time may, in fact, be a reward for good performance for certain students. Once behaviour A and the evaluating criteria are set, the reward (a concrete reinforcer or behaviour B) must be determined. Two types of reinforcing events may be used. An opportunity to work in a more desirable academic area may reward work in a less desirable subject (i.e. When Curtis finishes his reading assignment, he may work with arithmetic puzzles for ten minutes.). The reinforcement may, on the other hand, be something that is purely entertaining (playing with toys, going to the gym, watching a movie). From the educational point of view the former type of reward may be most desirable because both behaviour A and behaviour B further educational goals. What is most important, however, is that the reinforcer actually be experienced as a favourable consequence by the child, one that makes the low probability behaviour (LPB - or behaviour A) worth doing. It is essential that the reward and amount of reward be clearly designated in advance (i.e. five minutes free play, six candies, etc.), and it is equally essential that the reward be commensurate with the behaviour situation.

Harless and Lineberry (1971) point out that in order for contingency management to be effective certain principles must be adhered to. The environment is arranged in such a way as to insure that the reward is contingent upon the behaviour and cannot be easily obtained in any other way. Secondly, access to the reward should follow immediately once the behaviour A is performed. They suggest, in addition, that greater success will be obtained if rewards are given frequently, so that,

> ...a 60-minute class period consisting of four 10-minute LPB (low probability behaviours or behaviour A) periods, each followed by a 5-minute HPB (high probability behaviour or reward) period, would prove more effective than a 40-minute LPB period followed by a 20-minute HPB period.

While the establishment of contingency contracts may be useful for directing the behaviours of one or two especially difficult students, the system may be applied to an entire class, and may provide the on-going structure for that class.

Contingency contracts have been presented as means by which appropriate classroom responses may be encouraged, or increased. It should be noted here that there is ample evidence that the contingency management systems can work to effectively decrease disruptive behaviours, when the rewards are made contingent upon the absence of that undesirable response. For example, instead of contracting that John will earn a certain reward if he completes a mathematics assignment, the contract could specify that John will earn a certain reward if he does not interrupt his teacher for ten minutes.

While other educational theorists will debate the extent to which students should be involved in the formulation of class rules, practitioners of behaviour modification are concerned primarily with the precision with which rules spell out appropriate behaviours. Signs prohibiting certain actions (i.e. "We don't make noise in the hall. We don't chew gum in school.") are a common sight on classroom walls. So too are posters that declare desirable attitudes (i.e. "We respect the property of others. We cooperate with our teacher and our classmates.") But what, ask the behaviourists, are the students actually expected to do? In the first instance they are told what not to do; in the second they are given vague instructions which are subject to wide interpretation and thus great misunderstanding. Therefore, in place of such prohibitions and vagueries it is recommended that rules be extremely precise statements of the behaviours that are required. By specifying them in this way it is a simple matter to determine if a rule has been followed, and reward earned, or if one has been broken. "We don't make noise in the hall" is converted to the positive, "When we are in the hall, we always whisper". Statements of appropriate attitude are converted to statements of appropriate, observable behaviours: "We ask permission before we borrow something that belongs to another person. We always return what we have borrowed, as soon as we are finished with it."

Explicit rules will not suffice to change the behaviour of all disruptive students (Madsen, et al, 1968, etc.) but they help many children to understand what is expected of them.

> "Clear specification of rules is also an aid to classrooms where there is a great deal of change in the types of behaviour expected from one activity to another. Not only do rules help a teacher to shift the kinds of classroom activities with ease, but allowing and expecting different behaviours during different lessons is probably good training for children ... a child whose teacher expects and receives varying behaviours in different lessons is learning the type of self-control that will give him the greatest freedom and flexibility in the future." (O'Leary, 1972, p. 31)

Explicit rules should be coupled with clear consequences. Madsen, Becker and Thomas (1968) experimented to determine in what situations specification of rules effectively contributed to improved classroom order. They found that specifying rules or ignoring disruptive behaviours alone had no significant effect on the level of disruptive behaviour in 2nd and 3rd grade classes. When teachers specified rules and in addition ignored disruptive behaviours the level of disruptive behaviours actually increased. However, when rules were specified, inappropriate behaviours were ignored and appropriate behaviours were praised, the average incidence of disruptive behaviours decreased significantly.

Earlier in this discussion the notion that undesirable behaviours are reduced or eliminated by consistent non-reinforcement was introduced. Learning theorists distinguish between non-reinforcement, which is the act of ignoring a behaviour and withholding reinforcers, and punishment, which is the application of negative consequences to a specific action. Chapter 4 presents a closer look at current attitudes towards the use of punishment in the schools. It is warranted here, however, that attention be given to two means for withholding reinforcement that are recommended by behaviourists. Contingency management systems have built into them opportunities for removing a child from a situation where reinforcement is possible. If students are involved in contracts that earn them the right to rewards, they may be removed

to a "time-out room" or "time-out seat" in their classroom, where they are not afforded the opportunity to work for any more rewards. Time-out rooms are especially desirable because they allow the student to be moved to a place where the attention of other students is not available as a reinforcement. Ideally the room would be bare, and removal to that room would be for no longer than 15 to 20 minutes. Dollar (1972) sets this time limit beacause, "...After about 20 minutes the child typically begins to rationalize his behaviour (blame the teacher) and fantasize aggression toward her." It is most important that the child know precisely which behaviour has resulted in this time-out placement, because too often inappropriate behaviour stems from genuine confusion about what is acceptable and what is not. When a time-out room is not feasible, a time-out seat in the classroom may be so situated that only the misbehaving student is allowed in the area, and so that the area serves this purpose alone.

Learning theorists agree that time-out methods will effectively suppress a response only temporarily. If the desire is to eliminate a behaviour completely, it is necessary that the child be given an opportunity to learn in its place a new behaviour that is appropriate and that will win him whatever reinforcement he gained by the misbehaviour. For example if the undesirable behaviour of cheating has been reinforced whenever the child received a better grade, then behaviours which lead to better grades, such as improved study habits, should be reinforced. Learning theorists carry the idea of replacing an undesirable behaviour with a more desirable one one step further when they suggest it is advisable to introduce (i.e. shape) into the student's behavioural repertoire a behaviour which can be rewarded and which is incompatible with the undesirable response; that is, one which cannot be done if the other is. For example, if a student is inattentive

during a lesson, then he should be rewarded for attentiveness. He cannot be inattentive and attentive at the same time, and he learns that only attentiveness will win him a reward.

At this time nearly every publication that is concerned with any aspect of voluntary human behaviour will contain at least one article reviewing some application of behaviour modification techniques. Descriptions like the following are common:

> ...In one particularly disruptive class of 18 3rd and 4th grade children in an inner-city area, teachers noted that in almost any given 20 minute period every child in the class has been struck or touched by another pupil at least once. Only 50% to 60% of class time was actually spent on school work. The rest was wasted trying, and many times failing, to maintain order. Disruptive movements by pupils exceeded hand raising by 100%. So the teacher used a form of behaviour modification that not only praised good behaviour but also involved a system of token rewards, whereby good behaviour earned "points", which could be accumulated and turned in for tangible rewards... Time spent on school work rose to 80% or more. Raising hands to answer questions generally took the place of disruptive movement. Teacher control took a quick turn for the better as deviant behaviour decreased markedly. (Jones, 1973, p. 29)

That some teachers already operate according to the principles made formal through behaviour modification has been demonstrated by Thomas and others (1968). A teacher who had a well-behaved class of 28 children from middle-class homes was asked "to withdraw the praise and approval she customarily gave and to increase the frequency of her disapproving of certain of her student's behaviours, by scolding, threatening and raising her voice." Under these new circumstances the incidence of disruptive behaviour in her classroom rose greatly. When the teacher resumed her pre-experimental control methods of praise and approval the disruptive behaviour returned to its original low level.

The literature seems endlessly filled with accounts of behaviour modification applied to generally negative behaviours, such as talking out, stealing, inattention, temper tantrums and physical aggression, to fairly innocuous behaviours as thumbsucking and poor posture, and modification to increase such desirable responses as promptness, participation in class activities, and self-dressing. The method has been recognized as generally effective in instances of changing specific behaviours. Some of the limitations of the method have included the fact that only specific behaviours are effected, leaving general attitudes of non-compliance, for example, unchanged. Another methodological limitation is demonstrated each time the reversal of contingencies design is employed. That is, behaviour will be controlled only so long as the application of reinforcement techniques is employed. There is little evidence to show that these changes in behaviour can be sustained in a system where no systematic application of reinforcement is made. Yet if the teacher needs to find solutions to specific behaviour management problems in her classroom there is no disputing that behaviour modification techniques may be effective. The degree of effectiveness will be influenced by how well the teacher understands the following principles:

1. Reward and punishment can be understood only in terms of the individual student. What is one student's reward may be another's punishment; thus, whether the teacher's action is reinforcing or repressive must be determined solely on the basis of the student's reaction to it. The safest approach to determining rewards and punishments is to view each individual as unique.

2. Each teacher has an undetermined value as a potential reinforcing agent for each student in her class. This value is assigned initially by the student on the basis of past experiences, but this value is increased or decreased by the teacher's actions. One of a teacher's objectives should be to develop a sound relationship with each child in the class in order to enhance his potential for influencing a student's behaviour.

3. Extinction of behavioural responses is a lengthy process and it is often difficult to determine when a response has been completely extinguished. An accurate representation of the way in which a student will react in a given situation must be made in terms of probability rather than in flat statements. Simply, then, a student may not behave in exactly the same way each time he encounters a similar situation.

4. The teacher is only one of a group of people who serve as reinforcing agents in the student's life. In order to facilitate the development of desired behaviour, the teacher may have to enlist the support of one or more of these change agents in the process.

5. When a student is not rewarded for adaptive behaviour maladaptive behaviour will dominate and will be utilized to obtain reinforcement.

6. Since reward is the basic unit for changing behaviour, the teacher must learn to use it effectively. Conversely, since punishment is basically ineffective as a means of promoting new behaviour, the classroom teacher should be cognizant of its impact and should use it only as a means of repressing undesirable behaviour, not as a way of developing new behaviour.

7. The teacher who seeks to develop behaviour in students should be aware of his goals and of the total consequences of the behaviour which he seeks to establish. Because a teacher labels behaviour "good" and "bad", this does not necessarily make it so for the student when his total situation is considered. (Brown, 1971)

The main thrust of criticisms of behaviour modification has been directed towards the ethics of behaviour control, not towards its power to work. A major philosophical question that underlies the issue is who should decide what is or is not desirable conduct.

Lindsey and Cunningham (1973) cite the following twelve other reasons why educators should be cautious before they accept behaviour modification as their answer to behaviour problems in the classroom:

1. Behaviour modification makes discipline a system of rewards... Good discipline...is progress toward mutually established and worthwhile goals.

2. It prepares students for a non-existent world; to ignore unacceptable behaviour is to socialize for an unexisting society.

3. It undermines existing internal control.

4. It is unfair. To refrain from...rewarding behaviour of some students for fear of weakening their internal control is to be faced with... providing rewards only for those without internal control.

5. It could instruct children to be mercenary. A system of rewards or punishments or both requires the teacher to decide how much conformity or non-conformity is enough.

6. It limits the expression of student discontent. Unacceptable classroom behaviour is often an indication that content and methods used in teaching are inappropriate for the needs of students.

7. It denies human reasoning. A system of rewards which would "pay" for acceptable behaviour and academic effort surrenders the appeal of the reasonableness of what the child is expected to do.

8. It teaches action/reaction principles. For behaviour to be internalized it is best that it be understood by the individual whose behaviour is being changed.

9. It encourages students to "act" as if they are learning, in order to obtain rewards...causing the teacher to assume that desired behaviour patterns are being established.

10. It emphasizes short-range rather than long-range effects.

11. It would make the student assume a passive role in his own education (that) could result in weakening individual motives.

12. It is a totalitarian concept in which the behaviour shown by an individual is regarded as more important than the state of affairs in the individual's life leading to his behaviour.

Any modification of a pupil's behaviour should be directed towards awakening and maintaining the curiosity of the child. Carter's (1972) presentation of learning theory principles for application in the classroom is accompanied by illustrations of children balancing apples on their heads. There is some irony in a picture about behaviour modification in the schools which has trained children balancing the age-old teacher's reward - the apple. Who is controlling whom? A quiet assumption underscores the practice of behaviour modification which presents the human being as a simple machine to be switched on and off at will. Perhaps this is the sentiment which makes behaviourist models least appealing to those who hold that the human organism is much more complex and splendid.

III. METHODS OF PREVENTION

A. UNDERSTANDING GROUPS

When thirty children are grouped together over a period of time what emerges is more than a collection of thirty individual patterns of behaviour. The field of social psychology has developed, in part, from a recognition of the fact that groups behave in certain describable and predictable ways and that by understanding group processes we may be able to exert some control over behaviours displayed by any group. It is proposed that groups have needs which are beyond the collection of the needs of the individuals which comprise it. These needs include the need for integration and co-operation, security and affiliation, and status in the larger organization (i.e. of the school). Members of groups will behave in ways to meet the unsatisfied needs of their group, most often totally unconscious that they are serving this function. Groups are seen as systems which have the ability to regulate themselves to a great extent. Educators are encouraged to recognize that they have a responsibility to respond not only to the needs of individual students but also to the needs of the groups to which students belong. In fact, it is suggested that in some respects a current emphasis on individualization of the school experience thwarts progress towards a more effective educational system. "A lack in understanding of the effects of the organization on individuals, and inability to deal with the collective behaviour of the classroom group, is a major source of teacher ineffectiveness in achieving desired instructional goals." (Johnson and Bany, 1970 p. 32). The suggestion is made that the functions of the teacher be divided into two equally important parts. First, as has always been recognized, the teacher is responsible for the instruction of students

in specified subject areas. To a great extent fulfillment of this function requires sensitivity to the individual learning needs and styles of children, and here if anywhere individualization of the school program is justified and recommended. Yet the group dynamics model refutes the commonly held assumption that if a teacher excels in designing and implementing an instructional program, then "behaviour" problems will either not arise at all, or will at least take care of themselves by simple readjustments in the instructional design. The position presented here is that the teacher's second function is the management task; by this it is meant that the teacher must know how to create and maintain classroom conditions that are conducive to the smooth functioning of that classroom group, so that in this way students are enabled to realize instructional objectives, and behave in socially approved ways of their own accord. It is held that if the needs of a classroom group are unsatisfied, the energy of group members will be spent in efforts to meet those needs, always at the expense of fulfilling individual instructional objectives. Another way of saying this is that group needs will always take precedence over private learning task requirements, and that the teacher must have group management skills so that she may free her student's energy to deal with the instructional affairs of the class. While the purest group dynamics adherents do not deny that "problem children" do exist, whose undesirable behaviour is not an outcome of group processes alone, many of the most common classroom behaviour problems are understood as symptoms of dysfunctions of the whole group, with the individual child acting as agent for the group. Group influence on individual behaviour may result in one or two children "acting out" group sentiment, or misbehaving in response to group pressure or in order to gain acceptance by the group. Therefore, treatment directed at "curing"

an individual of a superficial symptom will not effectively "cure" the situation because the problem exists at the level of the entire group. In order to intervene successfully the teacher must understand what group process is at work. Connected to this notion is the idea that whatever actions a teacher does take to modify the behaviour disorder of a single child will affect not only her "target" but all the other members of the group as well.

Johnson and Bany, in their book Classroom Management (1970), have developed a rigorous application of group dynamics principles to the classroom, and have suggested ways that teachers may be trained to facilitate and maintain positive, dynamic, group processes. Their model will be presented in summary here, along with some of the recommendations for training teachers in essential skills.

Group cohesiveness is one attribute which has received the most attention in the theoretical and experimental literature on groups. Cohesiveness, like glue, is that force which binds. Highly cohesive groups are characterized by memberships that display strong solidarity and loyalty, and high attractiveness for members. A synonym for cohesivenss is unity. Research on group unity has shown that the more cohesive the group, the more affected are its members by group decisions, norms and pressures. It has also been demonstrated that the cohesiveness of a group is positively correlated with the perceived attractiveness of that group for its potential members. A collection of students placed together because of a common, undesirable trait (i.e. low achievement, handicaps, or poor behaviour) is likely to be found wanting in cohesiveness because the children do not regard membership as something to be valued.

One way to make a group more cohesive then, would be to increase the attraction of membership. Educators would be cautioned against grouping children together according to a common undesirable trait. Why strive to make conditions favourable to a unified group? Divide and conquer in the classroom, no? According to what research on group dynamics has discovered, when people are organized into a group, which is unavoidable in the classroom by definition, then group processes will obtain. One fundamental process is that by which a floundering group spends its energies on trying to right itself. Obviously co-operation is prerequisite to any satisfactory functioning in a situation where poeple must work together. Groups lacking unity provide no incentive for co-operation among its members, and its energy gets directed instead towards the conflicts among members. Bany and Johnson describe the symptoms of a group suffering a lack of unity:

1. Class split by cliques
2. One or more isolated subgroups
3. Poor communication and a lack of common norms
4. Hostile competition rather than friendly co-operation
5. Some individuals derided by others in the group
6. Tattling, complaining and name calling
7. Frequent disputes, conflicts and inability to play together
8. Work processes interrupted by complaints and petty grievances (p. 48)

Subgroupings within a class are not always incompatible with larger group unity. If several strong cliques develop based on strong bonds of friendship or common interests there will not be any negative effect on the classroom group, as long as cliques do not engage in rivalry or competition for status.

Experimental work conducted to determine whether external methods can promote group cohesiveness has resulted in the identification of the following methods which will serve this purpose at the beginning of a school year:

1. Teachers can make favourable appraisals of the group when this is warranted, and avoid unfavourable appraisals. This means that the teacher is to concentrate on total group behaviour rather than on the behaviour of individuals. Praise for one individual carries the implication of criticism of others, and works against unity.

2. Teachers can heighten the children's awareness of the various attractions the class group offers, and they can dramatize the new and interesting things they will be learning together.

3. Instructional activity should begin with some attractive exercise in which the children are encouraged to work together.

4. The teacher can be certain to stress the satisfactions that are to be derived from working with the other children in the class.

5. The group should be told that they are a good group in specific ways, and their prestige should be appealed to (i.e. they are in <u>first</u> grade now).

6. The group should be responsible for planning some phases of their daily activities together.

7. Favourable evaluations of the group from an outsider (i.e. the principal, another teacher, a visitor) should be communicated to the class.

Maintaining group unity requires that the teacher keep herself aware of how the factors which can adversely affect unity are functioning. Some of these factors mentioned by Bany and Johnson, which have shown to decrease the cohesiveness of a group include the establishment of prestige hierarchies, competitive practices, frustration, and social events outside the classroom which have carry-over effects in the classroom.

A specific technique recommended for discovering the source of decreasing group unity is the Reaction Story. Prepared by the teacher in such a way that it presents a problem similar to one that exists in the class, the reaction story is left unfinished. It is read to the children who are then asked to write or discuss the ending. A similar, but more immediate means by which the teacher can elicit student reaction to disunifying conditions is by having students complete unfinished sentences that pertain to the specific situation (i.e. "Johnny became angry because _____"). The incomplete reaction story and sentences are recommended for use whenever the teacher is attempting to gain a better understanding of what is happening to the dynamics of her group.

Classroom unity is only one of the forces that operates on the group. Patterns of interaction and communication, group structure, group goals and control practices are other factors which have been shown to determine group behaviour. What is important to understand here is that these forces do not work independently; rather there is interaction among them. For example, in order for a high level of unity to develop, channels for communication among group members must be available, and communication and interaction must be encouraged. The image of the classroom so arranged that the only permissible communication or interaction is between teacher and pupil, and teacher initiated at that, is a precise picture of an organization diametrically opposed to the realization of unity, or communication among members. Teachers who wish to promote unity in their classrooms will, therefore provide children with many opportunities to plan together and work on common tasks.

One category of tasks that must be carried out if groups are to function optimally is the establishment of groups standards of conduct. "A standard is a statement of or commonly accepted understanding of what is appropriate behaviour in certain specified situations." (Johnson and Bany, p. 177) Many of the standards operating in the schools are never stated, but are made visible as soon as they are not upheld. Johnson and Bany react strongly and negatively to a notion that is in vogue in much current educational literature concerning standards of conduct. These authors suggest that the notion that students should be allowed and encouraged to develop their own standards for behaviour in the school is outright deception. There is a very "solid core of norms permeating the educational system" and any suggestion that students will be allowed to make their own code, independent of the existing norms, "results in making the decision-making process...a hypocritical, indirect method of coercion." Johnson and Bany suggest an end to the hypocrisy, by actively involving students in the standard-making and standard-achieving process from an angle other than the formulating one. Teachers have to comply with school codes handed down to them from administrations and from years of the cultural history that have shaped the school. The students must also comply. The activity that is meaningful here will be to allow children the very real power of deciding how they will carry out the standards, if they cannot truly determine the standards for themselves. A seven step process for effective class participation in standard setting is proposed.

1. Teacher makes a statement of the policy and/or desired conduct for a specific situation under consideration.

2. A clarification of the situation which includes a clear exposition of the factors involved is made.

3. Teacher requests some plan of action which will enable the members of the class to meet the required conduct.

4. A statement and exploration of the boundary conditions is made.

5. All suggestions on how to meet the conditions in the situation are examined.

6. Class members who must carry out the plan are asked to make a commitment to the selected action.

7. A daily progress examination is instituted in order to determine the effectiveness of the plan.

Boundary conditions are the logical and unavoidable limitations that must be accounted for by any plan of action designed to meet a standard, or solve a problem, in general. For example, children may be asked to decide how they can best move from their classroom to the cafeteria at lunchtime. One boundary condition is that the class "must work within the established school policies" - so that if school policy dictates that the class must move as a group no solution that proposes individual pathways would be acceptable. Boundary conditions may be less visible than this. If the great importance of group unity is acknowledged then another boundary condition would be that no solution should undermine the unity of the class. "The most common cause of the failure of present educational approaches to self-discipline and classroom control lies in not considering all the boundary conditions." (Johnson and Bany, 1970, p. 208) Children, unaware of all the boundary conditions that must be satisfied, may arrive at solutions doomed to failure when they are given opportunities for self-direction. Experiences of failure are difficult for the most cohesive groups to accommodate. Groups without a very strong sense of cohesion to begin with will be most adversely affected by failure experiences.

The seven steps for standard setting procedures listed above can be generalized to apply to many other situations where children cannot decide what they will do but can be allowed to determine how they will do whatever is required. The teacher's role as director of problem-solving sessions becomes most important. In addition to being a means by which they may elicit from their students' commitments to certain desirable actions, problem solving is a process which in its own right can help to unify the group. In order for this end to be achieved, however, the teacher must be skillful, and beyond this she must truly believe that children are capable of finding solutions to their own problems. The benefits of problem-solving activities in the classroom are totally lost when the teacher does not fully intend to allow the students to make and carry out significant decisions. Problems that really only have one solution are better left to be solved by the teacher, because no real evaluative decision-making practice can be effected.

Problem-solving is not the endless cycle of holding votes by which students choose to do one thing or another. Rather it is a process of "resolving differences, reaching solutions, or discovering sources of difficulties. It is a method of reaching agreements. This means that there must be interaction, discussion, and testing of the effectiveness of the solution against how it operates in actual practices. Voting merely creates additional problems by splitting the group into winning and losing factions" (p. 230). Bany and Johnson put forth the following activities as the substance of problem-solving process:

1. Giving attention to situations affecting conditions in the classroom.

2. Formulating a problem statement from which a solution may be derived.

3. Developing statements or questions which will draw out the data desired.

4. Building into the solution the action needed to carry it out.

5. Testing the effectiveness of the solution against the course of events which follow. (p. 232)

Formulating the problem statement for presentation to the class first of all necessitates that the teacher have a clear picture of the situation and the problem before the class is called together. The situation in need of correction must be specifically identified for the students close to the outset of the problem-solving session, so that energy may be constructively directed at finding solutions. That energy gets dissipated if the problem is so vaguely defined that not everyone is working on the same thing. In addition, the problem must be conceived in terms that do not place blame on the group or on members of the group. Blame-placing is threatening and most likely to elicit defensive rather than constructive reactions. Co-operation which is essential for successful problem-solving is unlikely when students feel threatened. Problems should be formulated in terms of unsatisfactory situations which can be corrected, rather than unsatisfactory students requiring correction (or punishment).

Sometimes it will be impossible for a group to reach agreement. Limited experience with sharing responsibility for decisions can make students anxious or skeptical when they are suddenly permitted such self-determination. They may not have the skills needed for such participation. When a group cannot reach agreement there are six procedures recommended by Johnson and Bany that will aid teachers in "developing the skills necessary for handling (such) situations." These procedures need not necessarily be employed sequentially. Every situation must be examined individually in order to determine what steps are warranted and are likely to be effective.

1. List the points of agreement. When teachers list the points of agreement the group sees they are not as far apart as it seems.

2. Summarize points of disagreement. Stumbling blocks are pinpointed.

3. Clarify points of view. Give children who have been dissenting with the majority point of view the opportunity to explain their positions and why they feel the way they do.

4. Ask for agreement on several plans of action. If it still appears that agreement cannot be reached the group may be asked if they are willing to try the suggested plans of action, giving each an honest try in turn.

5. Present as a new problem the failure to agree.

6. Withdraw the problem until the group wishes to reinstate it. This may be a necessary procedure if some children continue to reject all plans but their own. Continued discussion in this case may cause the majority of group members to reject these individuals and split the group to the extent that group unity is seriously jeopardized.

Sometimes a classroom is disordered by a firmly established pattern of behaviour unconducive to meeting the instructional objectives. There may be a general tendency for inappropiate conduct when preparing for or changing activities, or when engaging in committee work. When firmly established patterns of group behaviour are undesirable it is necessary to modify the problem-solving technique in such a way that the process is directed towards the acceptance and implementation of a predetermined goal. In this case the teacher recognizes a need for a different pattern of conduct, and she must "sell" the group on this new pattern. Certain research findings should be taken into consideration by any teacher planning to initiate changes in group patterns. The following summary provided by Johnson and Bany is most useful presentation of these research results:

1. Unity, cohesiveness, and satisfaction with the group is an important factor influencing the willingness of a group to change its behaviour.

   a) It has been found repeatedly that the more cohesive the group is, the greater the readiness of members to attempt to influence others to make desired changes in behaviour.

   b) The more satisfied individuals are with their groups, and the more attractive it is, the more influence the group can exert to make desired changes.

2. In attempts to change a certain specific type of behaviour, the more relevant the new type of behaviour is to the attractiveness of the group, the greater will be the influence in the group to change.

   a) This means that the change the teacher desires must be made attractive to the group, i.e. it must be perceived by the group as adding to the status of the group.

   b) If the group members feel their class is considered "inferior" or "not so good" by the teacher, then children in these low-rated groups lose some (or much) of their self-confidence and personal esteem.

   c) Down-graded groups (groups which have not had positive appraisals) or those groups which perceive themselves as such, contain disappointed and frustrated children. These children often reject behaviour patterns which conform to what the teacher and school desire.

3. Change in an established pattern of behaviour cannot be brought about by trying to influence popular group leaders.

   a) Considerable evidence has been accumulated through research showing the tremendous pressures which groups can exert upon members to conform to the group's standard way of behaving.

   b) The price of deviation in most groups is rejection or even expulsion. If the child really wants to belong and to be accepted, he cannot withstand this type of pressure. He will "go along" with the group even though he suffers teacher disapproval.

c) Evidence has been obtained that shows the popular boys exhibit greater resistance against influence directed against the existing group's ways of behaving than do less popular boys.

d) Individually powerful children, when introduced into earlier formed groups, are unable to abolish or run counter to group standards or ways of behaving that have already been established.

e) Evidence indicates that once a group establishes its own pattern for behaving in a particular situation, status individuals or popular or powerful individuals will be more conforming to this pattern. Therefore, methods which attempt to change group behaviour through popular persons are completely ineffective.

4. The patterns of control used daily with the children in the classroom are an important factor relating to success in creating change.

a) If authoritarian practices have been the general rule, then a switch to participative practices will be suspected by the group.

b) If communication in the class has been severely curtailed, or if a status hierarchy has been imposed and maintained in the group, any planned change in behaviour will be extremely difficult to execute.

c) If pupil leaders have been appointed to maintain controls, group co-operation undoubtedly is low and change in behaviour will be difficult to achieve.

With these empirically demonstrated facts in mind, the teacher can attempt to initiate a change process in her classroom. She will not present the need for change in such a way that destroys group unity, but instead she will appeal to the "vanity" of the group by suggesting that the change will in some way enhance its attractiveness. She will not attempt to bring about the change by persuading or coercing group leaders because she recognizes that this is an ineffective method. She will not, finally, expect to be able to achieve favourable results by participatory dicision-making if she has already established an authoritarian climate in the classroom, or if she has actually already decided how to solve the specific problem.

The first phase of the change process distinguishes it from pure problem solving in that in pure problem solving there is no "answer" towards which the group is directed. The pattern-changing process, in contrast, requires that the group be lead to an acceptance of an acceptable alternative to their pattern. The alternative is not left up to their choice. What they must decide is how to accomplish the prescribed alternative. The first steps of the change process include the presentation of the need for change to the group, and the specification of the undesirable and desirable behaviours. The most difficult part of the change task for the teacher is to create an awareness in the group for a need to change, parallel to her own awareness. The group must believe that to change is to the advantage of the group. Once such an understanding is accomplished the process proceeds in a manner resembling any problem-solving procedure. Students are given the opportunity to suggest ways the new behaviour may be established. A plan of action is agreed upon by group members, and a commitment to that plan of action by members is called for. Once the new behaviour has been put into effect it is crucial that the group receive positive appraisals for their efforts, and that opportunities for evaluating the effects of the change be provided.

To summarize the group dynamics position on classroom behaviour, the most important thing for educators to realize is that individual children are members of a large number of formal and informal groups. When they are in the classroom the group that most profoundly affects their conduct is the classroom group. The effects of group membership may be deemed desirable or undesirable by the classroom teacher, and to a great extent the desirability of the group-shaped conduct that is displayed in the classroom depends on the teacher's ability to facilitate and maintain smooth group functioning. Needs of the group will always take priority in the classroom, and individual children

who appear to deviate may be doing so, in order that certain needs of the group be satisfied. The children themselves, will often be unaware of the way they are being influenced by the group process, but that influence is strong nevertheless. It can serve no positive end for the teacher to try to "divide and conquer". She may achieve surface submission and compliance, but she will not in this way be able to direct the children towards the fulfillment of their individual potentials. Administrators should understand that teachers have never been trained in group management skills, and that to support any efforts to attain these skills in the long run will prove very positive and valuable for teachers who may excell in their instructional tasks but be found to be lacking in competence in this other vital area.

B. GLASSER AND SCHOOLS WITHOUT FAILURES

Psychiatrist William Glasser is a critic of the North American school systems who believes that the schools create many of their own problems, including those of a disciplinary nature. The content of the curriculum, the learning tasks imposed on pupils, and the human relationships shaped and dictated by current educational structures exert great and often negative influence on school children who are involved in the critical process of forming self-identities. Glasser speaks of "success and failure identities" which, once formed, limit the experience any individiual is likely to have. Success identities prophesy success, failure breeds more failure. His recommendations for revisions of the school system are directed at eliminating those practices which insure that some children will fail (i.e. grading practices) and also at establishing new roads by which all children may experience success and the fulfillment of basic needs that presently are ignored by the schools. Unless the formation of failure identities is slowed down, Glasser suggests, society will always have to cope with desperately unhappy, uncooperative individuals, and schools will always have "problem children" who make the teacher's job impossible. The real problem, at the most fundamental level, is failure.

At the core of Glasser's recommendations is a theory of human needs which posits that every human being is driven to satisfy a need for love (to give and receive it) and a need for a sense of worth. The sense of worth is presumed to be built upon the acquisition of knowledge and the development of the ability to think. The responsibility of the schools for imparting knowledge and teaching thinking has hardly ever been denied. It

is less well appreciated that the schools have any responsibility for meeting the love needs of the children. Yet the presence of affection-starved children in every classroom is a reality that most teachers have faced year after year. "To say that helping to fulfill the need for love is not a school function is tantamount to saying that children who don't succeed in giving and receiving desperately needed affection at home or in their community (outside of school) will have little chance to do so." According to Glasser, people arrive at success or failure identities as a result of their experiences with love and worth in the formative first ten years of life. Inability to satisfy these needs causes the development of all kinds of social-emotional disorders, manifested in the classroom by behaviours ranging from aggresive delinquency to hopeless withdrawal. A longitudinal study conducted by Feldhusen and others (1971) confirms the hypothesis that those children who in elementary school exhibit poor social adjustment and patterns of aggresive/disruptive behaviour are more likely than others to engage in delinquent behaviours in their communities as adolescents and adults. It is suggested that in order to slow down the production of unhappy adults steps must be taken to promote success identities among children, and this can to a great degree be accomplished by the schools.

The lack of love and worth produces a lonely individual. Glasser's remedy for loneliness is to provide that person with an opportunity for responsible involvement with other persons, especially "successful" others. His practice of reality therapy centres around a warm, supportive, involved relationship between patient and therapist through which the patient is able to begin to satisfy his love and worth needs. In much the same way, "when students are involved with responsible teachers who have success identities

and can fulfill their own needs, the students are in a position to fulfill their own needs." Classrooms have the further potential for providing opportunities for involvement with other members of the class, thus extending the network of involved relationships for any child. While Glasser maintains a focus on the significant needs of the individual, he sees great value in using the classroom group as a force that can help to build individual positive identities. The essence of the relationship between students is to be one of social responsibility. The classroom meetings he recommends are a primary source for the establishment of that relationship. It is interesting to note that although Glasser does not actively employ any of the group behaviour principles gleaned by social psychologists in constructing his model, he arrives at many of the same conclusions and recommendations as proposed by that other group of psychologists.

The specific application of reality therapy in the classroom depends first upon the formation of a close relationship between student and teacher, one in which the student may identify with the teacher, who in turn is warm, supportive and non-judgmental. It is the teacher's task to lead the child to an awareness that he alone is responsible for his own actions; moreover, the child must recognize that his own actions are causing his failures. Like the behaviourist position, it is held that the only meaningful place to start in the change process is with the current behaviour exhibited by the individual. Glasser is emphatic in pointing out that children should not have to continue bearing the burden of past failures. Records of failures follow students about like ghosts, setting up conditions that only enhance the probability that they will fail again and serving no positive end. Negative records, then, should

be done away with. It is more difficult to eliminate the kind of communication that goes on between teachers as they caution one another about the students they pass on. Yet the effects of teachers' expectations on students' performance have been so well demonstrated by Rosenthal (1968), and others that this is an area that should be of great concern to educators. If a teacher expects the worst she is likely to receive no better. In the reality therapy model is it not the teacher's job to tell the student that he is behaving badly? No real change in behaviour will occur unless the child judges for himself that his actions are not profitable. Thus the teacher's task is to provide the child with as many opportunities to make that judgement as it takes until he does so. She will ask him, "What are you doing? Is that a good thing to do? Does it help you, or me (the teacher) or the others in the class?" Until the child recognizes that his actions are undesirable he must experience the negative consequences of them. Glasser does not propose, as many misinterpret him too, that the world be manipulated for the student so that he is spared any negative experiences. In fact, the child will learn only from those experiences that he must find a more desirable course of action. At the point that the child judges that his own actions are no longer best, the teacher helps him to find a more desirable course. Often children are unable to see alternatives at first - indeed, if one had seemed available it might have been tried. In this case the teacher must involve herself with the student to help him devise a plan of action by which he can desist from the misbehaviour and engage in a more desirable one. Once the plan is established the child must commit himself to it. "The keystone of reality therapy is that when a child makes a value judgement and a commitment to change his behaviour, no excuse is acceptable for not following through."

A child who does not follow through must then suffer the consequences of breaking his commitment; Glasser recommends that this be his exclusion from the class only until that time when he is ready to propose a plan for returning and state his commitment to stick to that plan. A truly involved, caring teacher will not accept excuses for breaking the commitment; to do so would be to sever the important student-teacher bond of responsible involvement. Rather the teacher will work with the child, "again and again, as he commits and recommits until finally he learns to fulfill a commitment. When he learns to do so, he is no longer lonely; he gains maturity, respect, love, and a successful identity."

The application of reality therapy principles in the school is a specific recommendation for dealing with classroom behaviour problems. Glasser is quick to point out, however, that many problems would be eliminated altogether if the curriculum were revised in order to permit students to succeed instead of fail. Two aspects of current curriculum under strongest attack are the demand the children memorize right answers instead of think creatively and the irrelevance of subject material that is presented to the children. It is proposed that pre-school children delight in using their brains to solve problems related to their lives. When they arrive in first grade they are suddenly required to "use their brains mostly for commiting facts to memory rather than expressing their interests or ideas or solving problems." Where parent pressure to succeed in school is strong and where supportive reassurance that the child is capable comes with that pressure, some children are able to "survive this shock", but where parental involvement is not of that sort children begin to fail. Glasser rejects memory education not only because it starts many children on the road to failure, but also because he sees the memory function as a less important capability of the human brain than creative

thinking. What is more,

> Merely retaining knowledge, without using it to solve the problems relevant to oneself and to society, precludes extensive involvement with other people and with the world... emphasizes isolation rather than cooperation and involvement... children seeking right answers tend to become more isolated.

The pressure for memorization makes education dreary and difficult. Beyond this, the subject matter which is the stuff of memorization is irrelevant to the lives of the children, or at least the relevance is not demonstrated. Glasser held a classroom meeting with fifth grade children, and tried to direct the students to a consideration of why they studied Roman numerals. He was disturbed, but not surprised, to find that none of the students could find any reason for studying that subject. "We cannot depend upon the natural curiosity of children to bridge the relevance gap because too often it fails to do so, especially among children whose backgrounds and interests are different from those of their teachers." It is mistaken to assume that a student will see the relevance of a subject if the teacher does. Relevance must be taught.

In summary Glasser proposes that education be designed to engage students in thinking about relevant subjects. A method by which this is accomplished is the classroom meetings which he advocates. A regular part of the instructional program where the teacher leads the whole class in "non-judgemental discussion about what is important and relevant to them," the most important concept behind the classroom meeting is that it provides all students with opportunities to express their thoughts without the risk of being "incorrect". Three types of meetings are proposed, each conducted in the same non-judgemental manner, but each directed towards somewhat different goals.

Social-problem-solving meetings give the class group a chance to discuss and work out the problems of the group members or group as a whole that arise in their school or personal lives. Any subject of importance to the class or members, therefore, may be introduced. If the entire school is, as Glasser strongly recommends, involved in the regular use of classroom meetings, subjects for discussion can "be introduced in any class by any student or any teacher". Thus by opening the channels of communication within the school as a whole, classroom meetings provide for that essential conditions necessary for whole school cohesiveness as suggested by Johnson and Bany. The discussion is problem-centred; that is, no student becomes the target of criticism, but a troublesome situation which may involve a specific student is considered . While the goal is to help students find better ways to behave, solutions never include punishment or fault-finding. The teacher is careful to refrain from being judgemental, although members of the class are encouraged to be involved in helping one another judge appropriate or inappropriate behaviours. Glasser reports that this type of meeting, used regularly, is one very effective way for dealing with the behaviour disturbances that arise in the classroom. Two fighting students may be asked if their dispute can be resolved in the next classroom meeting. The involvement of a network of caring students meets important basic individual needs of the children. "They learn that their peers care about them. They learn to solve the problems of their world."

Glasser has found that two other types of meetings are equally likely to have positive effects on classroom discipline. Open-ended meetings are the type he recommends be used most often. Here children are encouraged to discuss any "thought-provoking question related to their

lives or to the curriculum of the classroom." The role of the teacher who directs these meetings is to stimulate the children to think and relate what they know to the discussion. Children must be free from the fear of their ideas being competitively evaluated. Educational-diagnostic meetings are directly related to what the class is studying and allow the teacher to evaluate whether her instructional objectives are truly being met by her techniques. Too often tests of what students have taken from instruction rely on memory retrieval and give no other indication of how the material is being assimilated by the child. Glasser gives the example of a meeting where his goal was to see if students had understood the implications of the Constitution they had been studying in class. His first question, "what is the Constitution" was met with great student confusion, until finally they were able to conclude only that the Constitution was "something they studied in their book". This type of response, and the responses that followed made it clear that students were not able to make connections between what they had read, and memorized and how the Constitution applied to them. If data storage in the mind's memory bank is the sole aim of an instructional program then the usual procedures for evaluating teacher effectiveness, such as objective examinations, may suffice. If the goal is to enable students to make use and sense of what they are learning then this type of diagnostic meeting may serve an important function for the teacher. As well, both the open-ended and educational-diagnostic meetings permit students extended, and regular opportunities to think about ideas that are relevant to their lives, in non-judgemental circumstances. Experiencing success, satisfaction and acceptance in these meetings may significantly reduce the frustration students might otherwise feel, which in turn would reduce frustration caused inappropriate school conduct.

The success of classroom meetings depend to a large extent on the teacher's skill in conducting them. Her skill, in turn, will largely be determined by the degree of support she receives from the school administration when she establishes this program. Administrators who do not see that classroom meetings can be valuable will not endorse devoting 30 to 45 minutes each day (which is what is most recommended) to the process. Further, if teachers are to develop group leading skills they will need to see models. Glasser recommends that classroom meetings be instituted on a school wide basis when possible, although no teacher should be pressured into adopting the procedure. He proposes that faculty meetings be held weekly, during the normal school day (releasing the children early), so that experienced group leaders can demonstrate effective techniques, and so that model classes can be presented to interested teachers. When there are no teachers in the school who have developed the skills Glasser suggests that the principal involve himself directly; he may find a way to observe and practice meeting leadership techniques, and then he may form a regular classroom meeting group within his school to serve as a model. Glasser specifically recommends that the training necessary as background for the implementation of this program be conducted during regular school hours because the extra burden of after-school hours would be sufficient to discourage many well intentioned teachers from trying the innovation.

There are two other recommendations that Glasser makes regarding ways to increase success experiences of school children that will be mentioned briefly here. The first is the strong recommendation that students be grouped only according to age, and not according to measured ability. The practice of homogeneous grouping by ability leads those low-grouped children immediately to the formation of failure identities. An extension

of this notion is that teachers should avoid ability groupings within their classes, even when their classes are heterogeneous, for the same reason. The suggestion that "low" groups will have adverse effects on members is similarly made earlier by Johnson and Bany, using a group dynamics approach. Their explanation is that membership in such a group will not have positive value, and thus the groups will be divisive instead of cohesive and probably behave in undesirable ways. Glasser's second recommendation is that the current grading practices, whereby students are awarded grades ranging from A to F be replaced with a system that does not mark students with failure. Report cards sent to parents should not label children as failures, because this practice is likely to win them only more discouraging experiences on the home-front. It is suggested that children in the elementary grades move from one grade to another each year, without leaving any back because of failure, Reports sent home to parents emphasize, in narrative form, what the child is doing and where he needs to improve. Always the report is stated in positive terms, for example:

> Mathematics: Susan's skill in addition, subtraction and multiplication is adequate. She is becoming more independent in regrouping in subtraction problems. She needs to review her multiplication facts in order to maintain these skills. She needs much teacher support and encouragement.

This type of report suggested here required much more depth thinking about the children on the part of the teacher than do superficial grade ratings.

In secondary school students are passed with a grade of (P) when they have achieved the standards set by the teacher. No one fails, and no record is kept of a student having attempted a course which he did not receive a P for. Students are allowed to repeat courses if they wish to, and receive the grade P if on the second time around they meet those standards. This system eliminates the undesirable effects of systems that include meaningless middle grades (C and D) and destructive failing F's.

> Using a system that does not contain failure, students are encouraged to try hard courses. Education is thus expanded. A student need not drop a course because he fears a low grade. Even if he does not pass he can continue through the rest of the semester to assimilate a certain amount of skill and knowledge, perhaps enough to allow him to pass the second time if he tries the course again.

He suggests a system in which students can try for one Superior grade each term. To earn an S the student does extra, superior school work on his own, in one particular area only. Final evaluation is made by the teacher, and if judged superior the grade of S is given in that one subject. An S requires "enough work so that students are satisfied to work for an S in one area each semester rather than the present meaningless competition for many A's" which are usually the rewards given for excellence in memorization and little more.

Glasser presents the position that educators make their own problems by adhering to practices which create failure identities in students. The hurt and frustration of failing leads students to act out disruptively or withdraw so completely that no simple or complicated teacher techniques will really change the situation. His recommendations basically are for the adoption of practices that will lead students to the formation of success identities, the accomplishment of which will eliminate the needs for destructive conduct.

C. DREIKURS AND LOGICAL CONSEQUENCES*

Glasser's approach to behavioural change differs from that of the behaviourists mainly in the assumption that the teacher or therapist must understand the inner drives and needs of an individual in order to work towards change. Another "humanistic" approach to the task of changing inappropriate responses of children to appropriate ones is that of Rudolf Dreikurs who has applied the principles of personality developed by psychologist Alfred Adler to the classroom. A brief presentation of some of those principles will be followed by an examination of the main points of Dreikurs' system which is commonly referred to as the system of logical consequences.

The first assumption made by Adler, and hence Dreikurs, is that all human behaviour is purposive and directed towards achieving a goal. One must know which goal a person is working towards in order to understand the person's behaviour. Behaviour is often inappropriate because people do not always know how best to act in order to realize their goals. People attach private meanings to situations based on past experiences in apparently similar situations, but because they never have full command of all the relevant facts, their picture of any given situation is incomplete and their interpretation is biased. An example given by Dreikurs is that of the small child who interprets his father's going off on an extended business trip as a rejection of him. If that notion was incorporated into the child's picture of how the world operates, with enough strength, the results would be an adult, years later, whose interpretation of certain situations would be much less than accurate.

* Logical Consequences: A New Approach to Discipline, New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1968.

Always, it is suggested, people operate on the basis of partial information interpreted subjectively, and organized into concepts which take on "reality" for the individual who holds them. Adults are capable of making connections between assumptions and concepts in advance of their actions, so that they may weigh the consequences of their decisions in advance. Cognitive psychologists have recently constructed a model of how the human develops which differentiates child from adults by the amount of information each is able to deal with at any one time. While adults can hold several bits of information (or pieces of evidence) simultaneously as the basis for a decision, the child is able to hold few and therefore he is more inclined than the adult to make mistaken judgments about the most appropriate action in order to achieve a goal.

Adler proposes that the final goal towards which all humans ultimately strive is superiority which is intended to mean full self-realization, or a feeling of completion, rather than superiority in the competitive sense. Individuals are driven to complete themselves. (In fact competitiveness is the least effective means of self-completion according to this theory, because man is a social creature who needs to attain a secure position in his social group in order to feel complete.) Adler posits that man is therefore most strongly motivated to "belong". At one end of a continuum of personality adjustment is the individual who feels secure in himself and accepted by his group, and at the other end is the individual who is burdened with a sense of personal inferiority and no secure place. The very early experiences of the child are interpreted by him in such a way that he gains a notion of how he best can find his place in the group. One child may decide, on the basis of his experiences,

that the way he makes his place is by being the centre of attention at all times. Another may recognize that he is secure in the group, and his security is enhanced by working for the good of the group instead of seeking to better his own position. The patterns that children develop for finding their places sometimes stand in the way of their own best interests. Dreikurs holds that the only way a child can learn desirable patterns of behaviour is by experiencing the natural consequences of his misbehaviour.

Dreikurs cites four mistaken goals that children operate by when striving to find "their place". His recommendations to teachers for methods of handling disciplinary infractions are based on the teacher's ability to recognize the goal that is in operation, and then to act in an appropriate manner. The most accurate way to discover which of the four goals a child is working on is by observing the reaction the behaviour provokes. When the teacher feels generally annoyed by a student, finds herself being kept busy by him, or needing to remind or coax him constantly, it is most likely that the child's goal is to get attention. The attention-seeking child is most often showing off, calling out, drawing attention to himself by quarreling with others, acting lazy, leaving his seat, etc. His faulty reasoning is that only when people pay special attention to him does he have a place. Attention-getting behaviour may seem totally useless and socially unacceptable but it may also be acceptable if it is channelled constructively. Some students will strive for excellence form a genuine feeling of "belongingness and willingness to co-operate" but others will be driven by the need to be best in order to have a place. When attention-getting turns destructive it is more easy to distinguish and probably more

serious, but any teacher who has seen an ambitious child "devastated" by coming in second should recognize that this child, too, is operating in a fashion that does not provide him with genuine good feelings.

When a child is no longer satisfied with getting the teacher's attention, he may try to "get the teacher's goat". When the child demands to be boss at home or in the classroom his goal is power. The teacher can recognize the power goal if the child's behaviour makes her feel defeated or threatened. Teachers are familiar with the feeling that they just "can't let the child get away with it". This is the response evoked by a child whose logic dictates that he counts only if everyone else does as he commands. He will have temper tantrums, be disobedient, and engage the teacher in continuous contests of will. He will do the opposite of what he is instructed to do. The teacher is inclined to label the child a rebel, or call him stubborn. In any case, there is little socially acceptable power-seeking behaviour. Power-seeking resembles attention-getting but it is more intense and more of a problem. One clear way that the teacher can distinguish between the two is that the child who seeks attention will stop when he gets it. A reprimand will turn him off. The power-seeking child, to the contrary, will become more disobedient in order to keep the teacher engaged in his struggle.

When a child has experienced so many discouragements that he concludes he cannot find a place by attention or power devices he is likely to turn to revenge. Revenge is the third inappropriate goal that teachers face in the classroom. The child is reasoning that his only hope is to get even with those who have denied him his security. Delinquent behaviour is the product of this goal. The child may be sullen, defiant, mean and spiteful. The teacher will feel hurt because the child is a master at

inflicting hurt. The teacher thus will often dislike the child, feel outraged by his conduct, and even feel driven to get even with him. The sad truth about the child who operates according to the revenge goal is that his judgment of other peoples' feelings about him are usually correct at this point. People don't like him; he does get pushed around. He simply does not realize how "his offensive behaviour almost compels the kind of treatment he receives".

Dreikurs proposes that the last goal by which a child may operate is not one which is actually directed at gaining a place for the child. The most discouraged child gives up, and wants only to be left along with his inadequacies so that he is not reminded of them constantly. The teacher is made to feel helpless and certain that there is nothing she can do with the child. Some people who are relatively well functioning assume specific disabilities in certain areas, such as the common mathematics disability so many people display. This is the least severe form of using disability as an excuse. Children who fall into this last category use disability as an excuse for all of their school behaviour, and because it becomes such an all-consuming pattern Dreikurs urges that this child be given special attention.

Once the teacher has identified which goal is motivating a child at any given time she is directed to follow with specific goal-appropriate reactions as suggested by Dreikurs. The first general rule suggested is that the teacher disinvolve herself from the behaviour. The attention-seeking child should not receive attention for his misconduct. The child who wants to battle with the teacher in a power contest should not be allowed the opportunity to win or lose. "Once the battle has been joined the child has already won it." The teacher

is instructed to withdraw from the child's provocation, though not from the child. Teachers are often afraid to admit to the child's power lest she lose her status and the respect of the class. Dreikurs points out that the teacher must admit that ultimately she cannot "make" a child stop. By recognizing that "the power-seeking child is always ambitious and by trying to redirect his ambition to useful channels" she may be able to disarm him and encourage his co-operation. Disinvolving oneself from the revenge seeking child is most difficult because he is out to hurt. Dreikurs does not really explain how to accomplish this but states:

> ...The most important thing in dealing with a revenge seeking child, who is out to hurt the teacher, is for the teacher not to feel hurt by him.

Disinvolvement with the behaviour of the last group of children who use disability as an excuse for withdrawing from the academic-social arena altogether, essentially means that the teacher must not fall for their ploy. She must not give up, but instead she must go full steam in the direction of efforts to rekindle their incentive to try. Table 1 is taken from Dreikurs' and Cassel's guide for teachers, Discipline Without Tears (1972). It summarizes the suggested methods for dealing with misbehaviour, according to accurate diagnosis of the goals involved.

TABLE 1

HOW TO CORRECT CHILDRENS MISBEHAVIOUR

BY INTERPRETATION OF THE FOUR MISTAKEN GOALS — UP TO 10 YEARS OLD

CHILDS ACTION AND ATTITUDE	*TEACHERS REACTION	† ASK THESE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS TO DIAGNOSE...	CORRECTIVE PROCEDURE
NUISANCE SHOW OFF CLOWN LAZY Puts others on his service keeps teacher busy Thinks "Only when people pay attention to me do I have a place"	**FEELS ANNOYED** GIVES SERVICE IS KEPT BUSY REMINDS OFTEN COAXES Thinks "He occupies too much of my time" "I wish he would not bother me"	**GOAL 1** **ATTENTION** A "Could it be that you want me to notice you?" OR B "Could it be that you want me to do something special for you?"	**NEVER GIVE ATTENTION WHEN CHILD DEMANDS IT** Ignore the misbehaving child who is begging for attention (Punishing, nagging, giving service, advising, is attention) Do not show annoyance. Be firm Give lots of attention at any other time
STUBBORN ARGUES WANTS TO BE THE BOSS TEMPER TANTRUMS TELLS LIES DISOBEDIENT DOES OPPOSITE TO INSTRUCTIONS DOES LITTLE OR NO WORK Says "If you don't let me do what I want you don't love me" Thinks "I only count if you do what I want"	**FEELS DEFEATED** TEACHERS LEADERSHIP IS THREATENED Thinks "He can't do this to me" "Who is running the class ? He or I?" "He can't get away with this"	**GOAL 2** **POWER** A "Could it be that you want to show me that you can do what you want and no one can stop you?" OR B "Could it be that you want to be boss?"	**DON'T FIGHT—DON'T GIVE IN** Recognise and admit that the child has power Give power in situations where child can use power productively Avoid power struggle Extricate yourself from the conflict Take your tools out of his hand Ask for his aid Retreat child Make agreement
VICIOUS STEALS SULLEN DEFIANT Will hurt animals, peers and adults Tries to hurt as he feels hurt by others Rides bikes, scratches Sore loser Potential delinquent Thinks "My only hope is to get even with them"	**FEELS DEEPLY HURT** OUTRAGED DISLIKES CHILD RETALIATES (CONTINUAL CONFLICT) Thinks "How mean can he be!" "How can I get even with him!"	**GOAL 3** **REVENGE** A "Could it be that you want to hurt me and the pupils in the class?" OR B "Could it be that you want to get even?"	**NEVER SAY YOU ARE HURT** Don't behave as though you are Apply natural consequences (Punishment produces more retaliation) Do the unexpected Persuade child that he is liked Use group encouragement Enlist one buddy Try to convince him that he is liked
FEELS HOPELESS STUPID ACTIONS INFERIORITY COMPLEX GIVES UP TRIES TO BE LEFT ALONE RARELY PARTICIPATES Says "You can't do anything with me" Thinks "I don't want anyone to know how inadequate I am"	**FEELS HELPLESS** THROWS UP HANDS DOESN'T KNOW WHAT TO DO Thinks "I don't know what to do with him" "I give up" "I can't do anything with him"	**GOAL 4** **DISPLAY OF INADEQUACY** A "Could it be that you want to be left alone?" OR B "Could it be that you feel stupid and don't want people to know?"	**ENCOURAGE WHEN HE MAKES MISTAKES.** Make him feel worthwhile Praise him when he tries Say "I do not give up with you" Avoid support of inferior feelings Constructive approach Get class co-operation with pupil helpers Avoid discouragement yourself

* TEACHERS REACTION MUST NOT BE EXPRESSED SINCE THE NATURAL REACTION IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WILL ONLY REINFORCE THE CHILDS MISTAKEN GOAL EXCEPT IN GOAL 3

† ALL FOUR QUESTIONS MUST BE ASKED OF THE CHILD IN THIS ORDER. EVEN THOUGH THE GOAL MAY BE SUSPECTED DO NOT CHANGE WORDING

It is important that the child be confronted with his mistaken goals before the teacher attempts to lead him to change. The questions included in Table 1 are designed to disclose and confirm the goals to the child. Only one question is posed at a time, beginning with the teacher's first guess as to the motives that are operating. Children may not admit verbally to any of the goals presented, but teachers are cautioned to look out for signs of the "recognition reflex" - "a roguish smile, a twinkle of the eyes or twitch of the facial muscle".

It may be most opportune for the teacher to refrain from confronting the child with his goals until one of the recommended regular classroom meetings. The advantages of having this confrontation take place in the group situation include the fact that all the children in the class will be able to recognize some of the roots of their own misbehaviours. It is presumed to be emotionally reassuring for them to see that other children have the same fears and feelings as they do, and to see further that the classroom meetings are a place where these feelings may be shown without risk of looking foolish or being reprimanded. The classroom meetings suggested by Dreikurs are nearly identical to, if somewhat less well defined than, Glasser's social-problem-solving meetings. For this reason they will not be described any further here. What is unique about Dreikurs' proposals is his method of responding to students who do not comply with the solutions that have been agreed upon in classroom meetings or in individual student-teacher consultations.

The notion of adult-imposed logical consequences for misbehaviour developed from an awareness that certain actions always carried with them their own specific natural consequences which served to teach the doer that it was not desirable to try that behaviour again. For example, "a child who put his hand on a hot stove and burns it will avoid such unpleasantness in the future". The natural consequence is not arbitrary, nor morally judgmental. It represents the social or natural order. Alderian psychology pays much attention to the social order, and emphasizes a firm commitment to principles of democracy in which the first social law "is the law of equality (which) demands recognition of every human being as equal". In a democracy adults do not have the right to inflict punishment on children

because they are older, bigger, or perhaps wiser. However, children must learn to co-operate with the system, so that when an action does not carry its own specific natural consequence adults are obliged to impose logical consequences of their own division in order to teach the children what the social rules are. Dreikurs calls attention to five main distinctions between adult-imposed logical consequences and adult-inflicted punishment.

While punishment represents the power of an authority, logical consequences are "the expression of the reality of the social order". No personal ruler judges what or may not be done, but the society as a whole accepts certain actions and rejects others. Some rules are legislated into law, others are simply dictated by the culture. For instance, what is late to a North American is not necessarily late to a South American, but under any circumstances the person late in either place will experience the consequences particular to that culture. A child who is late to school in North America will probably miss the instructions for the day given by the teacher when most of the children arrived. A logical consequence which might be applied by a teacher to the situation of a late student would be to require that the child stay in school after the regular dismissal time, not in order to punish him, but so that he can make up the work he was unable to do on time because he arrived too late for instructions. The teacher would not stop the class during class time to make a special explanation for the latecomer. This example serves to distinguish between logical consequences and punishment in that the logical consequence is logically related to the misbehaviour while punishment rarely is. A punishment for lateness requiring the child to write "I will not be late", or to do an extra homework assignment teaches him nothing about the true consequence of his lateness. There is nothing logical about making a child serve

detention because he is caught running in the halls, in violation of school rules forbidding running. If running in the halls has been forbidden because of the inherent danger a logical consequence for doing so might be to forbid the student from using the hall at the same time as his fellow students, whose welfare he endangers by running. The third distinction made between punishment and logical consequences is that the latter do not involve moral judgments while punishments invariably do. Punishment usually rests on the premise that if a person does as ordered, then the person is good. If a person does not comply, however, then he is bad and deserving of punishment. Logical consequences dictate that people be allowed to chose their conduct freely, without the pressure of risking moral condemnation. The process of applying Logical Consequences, like Glasser's Reality Therapy, is to encourage the student to make his own judgment about his behaviour. He is asked only if he wants to continue as he is doing, or if he wants to do something else. When the conduct chosen is inappropriate the unpleasant but logical consequences that follow will teach the child that the action should be avoided in the future. The distinction between doer and action is always kept clear.

Logical consequences are not administered in anger as if often the case with punishment. The adult must take the role of a friendly bystander who genuinely regrets that "under the circumstances he cannot do anything else except let the child face the consequences of what he had done". Dreikurs suggests that the tone of voice used by the adult is the most reliable indicator of his attitude. If the cardinal rule of disinvolvement with the misbehaviour is followed the adult will not be or sound angry. A punishing adult will.

Sunshine (1973) summarizes general recommendations to teachers that follow from Adlerian principles.

1. Teachers should not be concerned about their own prestige in the classroom. They need not win battles with students in order to be secure in their positions.

2. Teachers should not scold or nag, nor should they admonish misbehaving students with endless explanations of why they must desist. Logical consequences and the pressures of the peer group should be allowed to show the child where he is in error.

3. Talking, in general, is the least effective way of bringing about a behavioural change. Especially in conflict situations teachers should refrain from talking at or to the student about the problem.

4. Good behaviour should not be rewarded by the teacher. It should be appreciated for its own intrinsic rewards. In a democratic setting discipline must be maintained by the internalization of controls. Rewards and punishment thwart the development of internalized controls.

5. Improvement should be commended, and children should always be encouraged to keep trying.

6. There is no place for double standards in a democracy. If the teacher demands a certain type of decorum and performance from her pupils she owes them no less in return. Children should be regarded as the teacher's social equal.

7. Teachers must make every effort to understand the purpose of a child's behaviour before any attempt is made to change it.

8. Directions for what is expected of the pupils should be made very clear.

9. The classroom atmosphere should be one of mutual trust and respect, where children have real responsibilities and where the emphasis is on the positive.

10. As soon as a child misbehaves he should be permitted to choose between changing to a more acceptable behaviour or experiencing the consequence of his actions (removal from the classroom until he is ready to co-operate is the frequently recommended consequence).

D. PUNISHMENT

Common sense and experience combine to provide conflicting pictures of the efficacy of punishment as a means for discouraging undesirable conduct. The speeding motorist, apprehended, ticketed and fined, slows down to the speed limit - for a while. The disrespectful child, sent to bed early for a week, refrains from calling his parents derogatory names - for a while. Yet, if punishing undesirable behaviour were an effective means of eliminating it, North American prison statistics would not show, as they presently do, that within five years of their release from confinement, 75% of the prisoners are back in jail. Have the prisons failed to fit punishments correctly to the crimes? Have they failed to mete out punishments severe enough to be deterrents? Or is there something in the nature of punishment itself, as a behavioural control technique that makes it of limited effectiveness in general? The purpose of this section is to examine the current positions held about the value of punishment in the schools as a means for handling discipline problems. It should be noted from the first that these positions are based only to a small extent upon the results of empirical research. The ethical problems involved in conducting research on the effects of punishment with human subjects are great. What parent would voluntarily allow his child to be either strapped, isolated, ridiculed or ignored for the sake of science? Thus most of the research has been confined to laboratory work with animals. When human subjects have been used the situations are so highly contrived and the punishments of such unusual types (i.e. bells and lights and buzzers) that the external validity of these results is called into question.

The first theoretical position held by Thorndike and other members of the scientific community was that punishment was the exact opposite of reward and as such would have the opposite effect. While reward encouraged behaviours presumably punishment would discourage them. When laboratory studies with rats demonstrated that punishment only temporarily suppressed certain responses a majority of theorists switched positions to one that regarded punishment as a relatively ineffective means of controlling behaviour.

Most recently it has been established that the effectiveness of punishment is not simply an all-or-non proposition. Such factors as the timing and intensity of the punishment, the presence of an alternative response, and the relationship of the punishing agent to the subject have been examined. Cheyne and Walters (1969) investigated the effects of timing, intensity and "cognitive structure" in one study with children, in order to determine the extent to which these variables influenced the inhibition of responses. Cognitive structure referred to how well informed the child was as to why a behaviour was forbidden. It was shown that when children were punished as soon as they initiated the forbidden act, they were more likely to inhibit that response in the future than when the punishment was presented after the child had misbehaved for a while. High intensity punishment more effectively suppessed misbehaviour than low intensity punishment. Children who received extended explanations of why they should not do a certain behaviour were less likely to misbehave than were children who were simply told what not to do. These factors were arranged in combinations, so that two combinations of conditions proved most effective in suppressing misconduct. Children punished early, with high intensity punishments, were as likely to resist misbehaving in the

future as were children who developed high cognitive structures about the behaviour, even though their punishment was delayed. The researchers took measurements of emotional arousal of the subjects by recording such physiological indicators as heart rate. They found that of these two groups of children, the group with high cognitive structure showed lower levels of emotional arousal. It was then hypothesized that while both conditions produced inhibition of responses, the inhibition had two different bases. Because the first group exhibited high levels of emotional arousal it was suggested that they refrained from misbehaving out of fear of punishment. The second group, with high cognitive structure and low arousal levels appeared to refrain because they understood a rule about what was and was not socially acceptable. The authors suggest that the second type of resistance is closer to the way self-control operates. "The development of self-control is not a matter of learning a 'new' emotional response that is substituted for fear, but of learning how effectively to utilize socially significant cues."

The concern of the side effects of punishment is widespread. Would obedience be worth the price, if a child learned to fear his teacher and hate school in the process? Constantini and Hoving (1973) demonstrated that the withdrawal of a positive reinforcement was a punishment method that generated weaker emotional effects than did the presentation of noxious stimuli. The former method made it possible for the child to maintain a positive orientation towards the punishing agent - his teacher. There is no approach to problems of discipline in the school that devalues the importance of a positive, friendly relationship between student and teacher. Results which have demonstrated that punishment can negatively effect that relationship must be taken into consideration when classroom control techniques are evaluated.

It has been suggested that the children who are most likely to be controlled by punishment are those who misbehave least often. Further it is said that punishment will be effective only until the punished child learns to adapt to it. These notions were apparently borne out by research conducted by Sallows (1972). He compared children who were "normal" with children who were frequently deviant or misbehaved, according to the type of parental discipline they usually encountered. Two of his results were most interesting. Children who were generally deviant were much less responsive to punishment than their normal peers. What is more, these children were controlled by their parents with more severe forms of punishment significantly more often than the normals. The parents of disorderly children used physical punishment 31% of the time, while the other parents almost never used anything more severe than verbal reprimands.

A major criticism of punishment has been that its use teaches the child that control by domination is acceptable and effective. The child is then inclined to use aggressive control technqiues with others. Sears and others (1957) found that when parents used severe forms of punishment they were more likely to have extremely aggressive children who channelled their aggression against their parents. Kounin and Gump (1961) found that children who were taught by punitive teachers were more aggressive in their misconduct, misbehaved more frequently, and were generally less concerned with school and learning values than were children who studied with non-punitive teachers. Becker (1967) found, in a study using 28 elementary school children as subjects, that the more the teacher used punishment the more disruptive were the children's behaviours.

The research on the variables related to punishment also includes investigations of the effects of punishment schedules. Parke and Deur (1972) found that greater inhibition of aggressive hitting behaviour in 8-10 year old boys was achieved when punishment was consistently administered than when the punishment came intermittently. They suggested that intermittent punishment, in fact, made for greater resistance to suppression of the responses, even in the future when consistant punishment was used. That much punishment in real-life is ineffective seems at least partially explained by the fact that it is rarely administered with the total consistency called for in order to achieve the desired results.

Fischer (1970) experimentally arranged a situation where students were given a great deal of opportunity to cheat on an examiniation. Four groups of students were treated according to the different experimental conditions. One group was threatened with punishment if any students were found cheating. An appeal to the honesty of the second group was made. In the third condition a call for a public affirmation of the value that holds cheating to be undesirable was called for from members. In the fourth group, which was the control population, no effort was made to decrease the incidence of cheating behaviour. It was found that the conditions in which the students were threatened with punishment for cheating was as effective, but no more so than the condition calling for public affirmation of the value. Both these conditions were significantly more effective in inhibiting cheating behaviour than the other two. Since the method of calling for a public affirmation was as effective as punishment, and since it was less likely than punishment to carry adverse side-effects, Fischer recommended that the method of public affirmation be used to encourage desirable behaviour. This means that the child is encouraged to publically

adopt a given, desirable value as his own, and to commit himself to that value in action as well as in word. Such commitment is regarded as a closer step to self-control than control techniques which are externally regulated and need to be policed in order to be enforced.

Clarizio (1971) is one researcher who suspects that the disadvantages of using punishment outweigh any possible desirable outcomes of the method. One of the most serious problems he points to is the fact that student reactions to punishment are varied and unpredictable. Lewin (1948) reports that a child who is especially sensitive to punishment may "leave the educational field" any way that he can. By this he means the child will cheat, feign stupidity, be truant, or daydream - anything to escape from the unpleasant situation. The school becomes a generalized aversive stimuli when punishment is applied. The fear and anxiety that may be produced by punishment will make future learning very difficult. Too often when punishment is really effective the child will not only stop his misbehaviour, he will cease to be able to respond at all.

In general psychologists and educators who hold themselves to be humanists are least likely to endorse the use of punishment under any circumstances, favouring positive methods of control instead. Many behaviourists, however, still hold that punishment is a potentially expedient and effective means for immediately suppressing an undesirable behaviour. While they usually prefer to recommend the time-out-from-rewards method described in an earlier chapter, they endorse the use of punishment with certain reservations. The primary qualification here is that the period of suppression of the undesirable behaviour be used to teach the child a more appropriate response. The child should learn an alternative behaviour that will earn him positive reinforcement. In addition, punishment should not be carried out in anger, and no threats

should be made without full intention of following through. A main fault of punishment is that it teaches what not to do, but rarely provides acceptable alternatives.

Chamberlin (1971) notes several cautions regarding the application of punishment, the most significant of which are included here:

1. Teachers should not use sarcasm, ridicule or embarrassment. It usually causes bitter feelings toward the teacher, alienates the whole class and humiliates individual members. These techniques can easily backfire.

2. Teachers should not give assignments as punishments for misbehaviour. To do so is to destroy the real value of school work in the learning process.

3. Penalties which are personally humiliating and publicly humiliating to a pupil should not be used; children should not be corrected in public.

4. Teacherr should not prolong an incident.

5. Offenses and their treatment should not be publicized before the other children.

6. A child should not be sent to sit in a lower grade as a form of punishment.

7. It is wrong to punish whole classes for individual infractions. This practice causes resentment among the other students towards the teacher.

8. The child should not be forced to apologize to his teacher. If an apology is freely given it should be accepted, but a forced apology is humiliating to both the child and the teacher.

9. Teachers should not allow chain reaction situations to develop. Some conditions spread through a classroom and the most recent violator is often the one punished. It is important to learn to recognize this type of situation and to be able to stop it without saying too much.

10. Punishment should be resorted to only sparingly; physical punishment the most sparingly of all.

The public and professional concern about the practice of corporal punishment in the schools is most heated. The tradition of the hickory stick in the classroom dates back more than 2,800 years. Despite the fact that surveys have shown that corporal punishment is still favoured by "a majority of teachers, administrators and parents" the movement to abolish the practice gains momentum. In 1969 a poll conducted by the National Education Association showed that 65.3% of elementary school teachers and 55.5% of secondary school teachers favoured "judicious use" of corporal punishment in the schools. An NEA task force, however, toured the U.S. in 1972, and concluded that "teachers and other school personnel abhor physical violence of persons towards each other, no matter what the form - alley fights, gang warfare, repression by law enforcement agencies, or war between nations". All of the undersirable outcomes, and limits of effectiveness, attributed to punishment in general above, are applicable to corporal punishment in specific. The NEA task force recommended the immediate phasing out of corporal punishment on the following grounds:

1. In order to be effective physical punishment has to be used over and over again.
2. Corporal punishment hinders learning because its byproducts of fear and resentment make the classroom atmosphere non-supportive.
3. Corporal punishment teaches might is right.
4. Research and theory both indicate that the use of corporal punishment will result in more disruptive behaviour instead of less.
5. Aggressive hostility is developed as a result of its application.
6. It tends to be employed discriminately, most often used against students who are smaller and weaker than the teacher.

7. Surveys indicate that teachers in inner-city schools are more likely to use corporal punishment than other teachers; it is sometimes used as a weapon of racial discrimination.

8. Though school boards usually establish limitations as to how corporal punishment is to be carried out, these guidelines are in practice ignored regularly.

9. By relying on the use of corporal punishment teachers do not direct their energies towards finding more effective and humane controls.

10. In many cases, corporal punishment causes lasting psychological damage to children.

11. Corporal punishment makes no contribution to the development of self-control.

12. The use of corporal punishment on students contributes to an undesirable tendency to see children as something less than human.

Despite research that attests to its long-term ineffectiveness and undesirability many educators and parents still endorse the use of punishment, and specifically corporal punishment. Many simply cannot imagine dealing with children without it. Learning theory offers one explanation for this, which makes a good deal of sense. It has been demonstrated that the most immediate effect of punishment is suppression of the undesirable behaviour; the more severe the punishment, the more immediate the suppression. Adults who have resorted to this practice have repeatedly been positively reinforced by the fact that the behaviour they aim at stopping is immediately stopped. Learning theory would therefore, predict that in the future these adults would be more likely to use punishment as a means of control than ever. Perhaps this is the mechanism that is in operation when responsible adults endorse a practice of highly questionable desirability. If adults are responsible for providing models for the behaviour of the children in their care, however, it is hoped that they give serious consideration to what they are teaching by the use of

physical aggression against humans who are smaller and less competent than they. Also, it is hoped that they provide models of people who are capable of considering long-term effects of actions and weighing these against any immediate gains. Ultimately, the best method of behaviour control in a democracy is self-control. Self-control is sometimes viewed as the ability to keep an accurate perspective of the long range best interests of an individual or society, in the face of conflicting and most tempting immediate gratification. Adults who serve as models for children will need to exercise self-control in their behaviour management techniques, if ultimately they hope to foster the development of self-control in the children.

IV. SELF-CONTROL

A. MORAL DEVELOPMENT

At a very early age the children of North America are taught at home and in school that they are fortunate to live under democratic rule rather than under the domination of a dictatorship. Presumably the former condition allows men to choose freely their own goals and means, while the latter imposes these upon members of the society. Yet a close look at many of the school systems in North America belies the fact that most of the children in the schools are not given freedom of choice (often, neither are their teachers or principals). The inconsistency between policy and practice is justified on the grounds that children are not capable of making the judgements necessary for wise choices. A literary presentation of the nature of children, such as Golding's Lord of the Flies, suggests that if children were left to their own devices, they would become brutally savage in no time. Wiener and Phillips (1972) give a somewhat less pessimistic picture.

> Left entirely untutored the child would change (in his social behaviour as he matures) anyway. He would move toward some kind of maturity though not necessarily the one desired by those responsible for him - or even satisfying to himself. Educators offer direction, interceding in behaviour, altering course and guiding according to specified standards ... Many more children might become delinquent if it were not for the steering agencies operating for the benefit of society: parents, school, church and other conventional institutions.

A major goal of the educational process then, is to guide children towards the development of the ability to choose wisely for themselves and to direct themselves towards socially desirable ends. How to help children develop self-control is a basic concern of educators, and to an extent it is appropriate to evaluate the success of the educational systems according to how

successfully that goal has been met so far. Pepper (1973) seems to look at the issue from a perspective almost the reverse of Wiener and Phillips:

> Piaget's work indicates that it is probably despite adult authority that our young sooner or later adopt a disciplined way of living. Noting the large numbers who reject all discipline as soon as they escape from home or school ties, and others who for the rest of their lives are capable of functioning only under external discipline and legal morality, he sees no way in which a system of self-discipline produced by external discipline can be anything but defective,

Dollar's (1972) definition of self-control implies that it is a two-step process; first one must be aware of the consequences of one's behaviour, and then one must have the ability to refrain from responding in ways contrary to one's goals. Kohlberg (1963) has presented the most interesting and coherent model that describes how the awareness of consequences develops. The behaviourists have extended learning theory principles to explain how individuals learn to refrain from indulging in immediately gratifying activities for the sake of obtaining long-term benefits. These two models will be presented here in order to shed some light on the development of self-control.

Kohlberg hypothesizes that the ability of humans to reason about moral issues develops with age, in stages, similar to the stages of cognitve growth described by Piaget. Just as humans are not born with a fixed and finite ability to think and learn, they are not born with a fixed capacity for making moral judgments. Children are not born with moral character traits, such as honesty or dishonesty, nor do they come equipped with scruples. In many studies that he conducted with adults and children, in North America and in cultures as widely diversified as Malaysia, Taiwan, Mexico and Turkey, Kohlberg required his subjects to make moral judgments about what would be appropriate actions in hypothetical situations. From the answers he

received he was able to identify and describe six apparently universal developmental stages of moral reasoning. Each stage was distinctly different from every other; the stages were arranged in an invariant sequence with each stage presenting a "new and more comprehensive system of mental organization" than the one preceding, and within general groupings, the stages were age-related. The implications of the stage theory of moral development for educators will be demonstrated after the stages have been summarized. Table 2 presents an adaptation of the summary of these stages taken from Sprinthall and Sprinthall's (1974) text.

TABLE 2

Basis of Judgment	Stages of Development
Preconventional moral values reside in external, quasi-physical happenings, in bad acts, or in quasi-physical needs rather than in persons and standards	Stage I: Obedience and punishment orientation. Egocentric deference to superior power or prestige, or a trouble-avoiding set. Objective responsibility.
	Stage II: Naively egoistic orientation. Right action is that instrumentally satisfying one's own and occasionally others' needs. Awareness that value is relative to each person's needs and perspectives. Naive egalitarianism and orientation to exchange and reciprocity.
Conventional moral values reside in performing good or right roles, in maintaining the conventional order, and in meeting others' expectations	Stage III: Orientation to approval and to pleasing and helping others. Conformity to stereotypical images of majority or natural role behavior, and judgment by intentions.
	Stage IV: Orientation to doing one's duty and to showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake. Regard for earned expectations of others.
Postconventional moral values are derived from principles which can be applied universally	Stage V: Contractual-legalistic orientation. Recognition of an arbitrary element in rules or expectations for the sake of agreement. Duty defined in terms of contract, general avoidance of violation of the will or rights of others, or of the majority will and welfare.
	Stage VI: Orientation to conscience or principles, not only to ordained social rules but to principles of choice appealing to logical universality and consistency. Conscience is a directing agent, together with mutual respect and trust.

An experimenter presented subjects with problem situations which had no single, correct solutions, and asked the subjects to suggest solutions. For example, the following is one of the problems posed:

> Joe's father promised he could go to camp if he earned the $50.00 for it, and then changed his mind and asked Joe to give him the money he had earned. Joe lied and said he had only earned $10.00 and went to camp using the other $40.00 he had made. Before he went he told his younger brother Alex about the money and about lying to their father. Should Alex tell their father?

Moral judgments in Stage I and Stage II are based on what Kohlberg calls "pre-conventional" reasoning. In Stage I behaviour is oriented in order to avoid punishment by a powerful authority. In Stage II the behaviour is motivated by an individual's desire to "look out for Number 1 (himself)", and to meet that individual's personal, often material needs. Any means for satisfying one's own needs are acceptable so long as one does not get caught. "The effort and skill that go into getting away with something distinguish Stage II from Stage I (so that)...a successful bank robber is rated Stage II while an unsuccessful bank robber is not only labelled Stage I, but is also 'put away'". A Stage I response to the problem posed above would say that Joe was right to lie, especially since his father lied first; however, Joe should be smart enought not to get caught. Alex should tattle on his brother if it is probable that he will be punished is he does not. Generally, children from birth to age nine years use pre-conventional reasoning to solve moral dilemmas.

Stage III and Stage IV fit into the broader category of "conventional" moral reasoning because actions that stem from these bases are judged according to their capacity to satisfy the expectations of others and to maintain the conventional order. Stage III judgments, specifically, are made in order to please others, and to do the "nice" thing. Nice children do not lie. Joe

should not lie to his father. His brother can squeal on him, and be a nice little boy. "Stage III behaviour conforms strictly to the fixed conventions of the society in which we live. We don't look inward to our own 'self' and attempt to work through a decision for ourselves on a moral question". (Sprinthall and Sprinthall, 1974). Stage IV judgements rely on a system of fixed, unchanging rules and laws that all are bound to "obey without question". This law-and-order orientation holds the position of "the rules - right or wrong". Joe was wrong for lying to his father - "obey thy father" being a cardinal rule which everyone is expected to follow. Judgements of children aged from nine to fifteen years are predominantly based on "conventional" reasoning (Stages III and IV).

When an individual bases his moral judgments on a "social contract" or in other words "a system of laws which have themselves been judged on the basis of the common good", he is operating in "post-conventional" realm. Post-conventional judgments are the highest type of moral reasoning, calling into play "all the situational aspects, motivations and general principles involved". Stage VI reasoning, higher yet than Stage V, operates on the basis of unwritten, moral and universal principles, such as the Golden Rule, or the concept of Justice. The principles upon which Stage VI decisions rest include valuing most highly human life, equality and dignity. A post-conventional response to the hypothetical situation described might dictate that Alex not violate his brother's trust or the bond of confidence between them. Then again, the younger brother would have to decide if ultimately Joe's best interests were served by his father knowing the truth or not. Stage VI "requires that...the circumstances and the situation, as well as the general principles and the reasons behind the rules (be considered)". Individuals of sixteen years of age and older operate according to post-

conventional morality signifcantly more often than do younger people, though this is not to suggest that adults always operate according to the types of reasoning found in Stages V and VI. Research, in fact, has demonstrated that only approximately 35% of adult moral judgments are based on this high type of reasoning. In addition research has found that the percentage of post-conventional reasoning, and therefore moral maturity, appears to stabilize somewhere between the ages of 16 and 25. There is little change in moral maturity likely to occur after 25 years of age.

Several studies have been conducted in order to determine the relationship between the type of reasoning a person uses and their actual behaviour. One series of studies administered "cheating tests" to young and old adolescents and found that persons who used Stages I through IV reasoning cheated far more frequently than did persons using Stages V and VI reasoning. Perhaps the most interesting and alarming research that correlates moral reasoning with moral action was that work initiated by Milgram (1965). Milgram's work on obedience paired a naive subject with an experimenter (the authority) and a "confederate" subject who feigned naivety. The true subjects were enlisted to help with "research on verbal learning". Their "partner" (the confederate) was placed in a separate room and supposedly wired to an apparatus which could deliver increasingly high voltages of electric shock at the touch of a lever. The subject was positioned in front of a panel which administered shock to lethal levels. The experimenter "ordered" the subject to administer shock to his partner whenever the partner gave an incorrect response on the learning task. The voltage of shock was to be increased every time the partner erred. The partners were not actually wired at all, but could be heard to scream at first with pain and later with agony in

response to the "shocks". Finally when the shock voltage exceeded the lethal level partners were totally silent. The most astounding result of this experiment was that in general, regardless of age, background or educational level, fully 65% of all subjects administered as much shock as they were ordered to - even when the panel clearly indicated that they were administering lethal amounts! They were "just following orders". Later the subjects from Milgram's study were asked to respond to Kohlberg's moral questions. It was found that of the subjects who responded with Stages I through IV reasoning only 13% had refused to administer the shocks, those subjects who reasoned according to post-conventional processes (Stages V and VI) refused to participate in the "shocking" experiment in 75% of the cases. In other words, individuals who valued human life above authoritarian order and obedience were much more likely to operate according to the higher levels of moral reasoning.

Does the school system want to educate children for obedience or for the higher type of reasoning? How does education affect moral development anyway? One thing that is known for certain is that individual's cannot be educated to skip from Stage I or II to Stage VI. The developmental sequence cannot be dispensed with. What is more, just as certain cognitive stages will not be attained until the individual has matured to a certain chronological age, children who are definitely within the age bounds for pre-conventional reasoning cannot be significantly accelerated in order to get them operating at post-conventional levels. But beyond the fact the moral development cannot be speeded up, there are several certain factors which influence how far any individual is likely to go in the direction of higher levels of moral reasoning. Kohlberg's theory asserts that the experiences of the individual greatly influence the level of stage attainment for the individual. More specifically, moral maturity has been shown

'one stage up'." In terms of corrective discipline it would be pointless for a teacher to try to persuade a pre-conventional child to change his behaviour according to post-conventional reasoning.

Kohlberg recommends however, that his model of moral reasoning not be left for corrective application. Instead moral growth should be encouraged as an integral part of the instructional program. To serve this purpose he recommends beginning discussions with pupil groups in grade school, based on moral issues that may be introduced from current events (i.e. headlines) television and film stories, or the students' personal experiences. Discussions would be directed towards exploring alternatives, and examining reasons behind rules and responses. Ideas would be compared, but at no time would the teacher attempt to impose her reasoning upon her children. Because children between the ages of nine and twelve are at that age where the shift from pre-conventional to conventional thinking most often occurs, this is the time when "it makes most sense educationally to provide experiences and classroom experiences to ensure growth beyond Stages I and II where moral judgments are self-serving or egocentric". (Sprinthall and Sprinthall, 1974) High school is the most appropriate time to educate for post-conventional morality. In addition to providing opportunities for discussion of moral issues Kohlberg suggests that role-playing is an important tool for guiding moral growth. Role-playing permits the student the opportunity to gain new perspectives on problems. Discussions based on the type of experience yielded from role-playing are most likely to be meaningful for the student.

B. LEARNING THEORY

The principles of learning theory have already been presented in this paper (in the section on behaviour modification) with specific reference to their implications for the classroom teacher. It has also been mentioned that contingency management systems can be gradually shifted from teacher managed to student managed, so that the student becomes his own contractor, and thus begins to develop some measure of self-control. Most of the empirical investigations of self-control have been conducted using the learning theory paradigm; this type of model will be briefly outlined here.

Logan (1973) proposes that self-control is, generally:

> the act of stopping before indulging in an intrinsically rewarding response to weight its consequences and then either not respond or stop...if it is judged undesirable.

Self-control is seen as a pattern of habits that is formed from experiences in situations that require it. There are two components to the self-control dynamic, identified as the self-control drive and the self-control incentive. Self-control drive derives from experiences when an individual has been made to suffer discomfort or otherwise aversive consequences because of a failure in self-control. An example of this might be the experience of disgrace by a child who is castigated for bed-wettings. When an individual learns to respond to a lack of self-control with fear or frustration the result is the self-control drive. The self-control incentive is another way of speaking of the positive reinforcement one may receive for exercising self-control. For example, when a person attempts to give up smoking he may be socially reinforced by acquaintances who laud his efforts. If the reward for refraining from smoking is greater than the reward that comes from lighting up, self-control will dominate.

The most important implication of the learning theory explanation of self-control is that since self-control is viewed as a learned response it may be taught.

> Circumstances in which frustrating or fearful events are associated with a lack of self-control provide the conditions necessary for such learning. Assuming that self-control habits are learned according to the basic principles of learning, then simple practice of such responses can lead to these habits. And assuming that incentive for self-control is acquired then the procedures of operant conditioning are relevant. This implies that training in self-control is not only possible but indicates the kind of training experiences that produce the most effective and persistent self-control behaviour. It also suggests that individuals can engage in such activities and thereby improve their own capacity for self-control. (Logan, 1973, p. 131)

Dollar suggests that self-control in the classroom must begin with the teacher.

She must become aware of the consequences of her own behaviour. In order to accomplish this, teachers should practice exercises in self-control which consist of three parts. First the teacher is told to specify a list of rules of behaviour that she wishes to maintain, increase or extinguish in herself. She is also to determine what her reinforcers are, and then she is required to proceed to reward her own "appropriate responses" according to a reward schedule which she has determined for herself. It is not difficult to extend this application to classroom students. There is some evidence that students may self-record target behaviours, to produce a desired modification in target behaviour (Broden, Hall and Mitts, 1971).

Duncan (1969) reports a program which involved 55 high school seniors in a self-controlled behaviour modification project. The students were very simply taught to pinpoint their behaviour targets, to record and plot the rate of occurrence daily, and to select and administer their own reinforcements. Thirty-three of the students reported successful modifi-

cation of such behaviours as snacking, swearing, nail biting and knuckle cracking.

Efforts have also been made to teach students to administer their own rewards in token economies and to evaluate their own performances (Bandura and Perloff, 1967, Kaufman et al, 1970). The application of learning theory principles to self-modified behaviour is still fairly novel, and specifically this application to the classroom is new. It does appear to be an approach which may combine some of the impressive learning theory method with more humanistic perspectives of the human condition, so that more investigation in this area should be received with interest.

V. STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN DECISION-MAKING

There is a considerable amount of interest in the notion of making the school a democratic enterprise. The achievement of this probably depends ultimately upon the extent to which the customary powers of the school (administration and faculty) really believe in the application of democratic principles to children. The keystone of democracy is the recognition of the equality of people, and the sharing of responsibility. Schools have long been based on the assumption that children are somehow less equal than other people, and policies that affect them have rarely been formed with their consent. Now theorists call for providing students with meaningful opportunities for self-determination, or at least for involvement in the decision-making processes that affect them. Howard (1970) suggests that "many causes of pupil behaviour problems are deeply rooted in the nature of the institution itself. Pupil behaviour can best be modified if the organizational and psychological climate to which the pupils react is modified". By encouraging the decentralization of decision-making power and the involvement of students in that process Howard believes desirable conduct will be fostered. To begin this trend towards student involvement, a task force composed of students, teachers and even parents may be formed in order to formally draw up statements of the objectives and values of the school, and the rules of conduct to which all are obligated. Nearly every book concerned with school discipline suggests that discipline codes are needed in order to eliminate the gray areas, the unanswered questions and ambiguous interpretations of what is and is not acceptable. Jones assures: "order in the classroom is less easily attained when only school authorities want it". Discipline codes are incomplete if they do not account for the values which underlie them. Therefore it is equally important to spell out what values operate in the school.

The opportunities for students to make significant decisions should be widened. An unscheduled amount of time daily, or weekly, for each student could be provided so that students can choose among many options the activity that interests them most. Teachers or members of the community, including but not exclusively parents, could offer mini-courses or seminars in areas of special interest to them. Many of the optional activites which could be conducted during this unscheduled time period are included in discussions of activities for gifted children. To a significant extent the suggestions made for improving discipline resemble those suggestions for improving the experience of gifted children. By increasing the attractiveness of the educational program, but showing greater respect for the student to choose for himself and to act responsibly, many of the problems educators currently face are expected to diminish.

Howard points to the existence of a communication gap which prevents students, teachers, administrators and parents from reaching any mutually satisfying relationship. A survey of teachers, students and parents in London, Ontario schools, concerned with their attitudes towards school discipline, supports this notion. Parents most frequently suggested that communication between home and school be improved, and communication between teacher and student on the classroom level be improved. In turn, teachers felt that they needed greater support and co-operation from the parents and from the Board of Education. Students most frequently suggested that the teachers listen to them. The lack of open communication channels is very likely due to the fact that the schools do not currently operate from a democratic basis where all members (including parents) are seen as equal. An undercurrent of hostility runs between each interest group and there is lacking a sense of mutal interest. One demonstration

of this hostility can be found in the discipline literature which consistently refers to discipline methods as "effective weapons against...". Co-operation and friendly order is not to be expected if a war is raging, even if that war has never formally been declared.

Much of the public sentiment calling for stricter controls in the schools is based on the assumption that schools have gone as far as they can go towards permissiveness and that has only made the educational situation worse. Permissiveness is equated with allowing children to choose their courses and wear their hair as they please. In fact, choosing courses, freedom to dress as they please and other such "privileges" are tokens of allowing children to have a voice in their own education. Real democracy has yet to be tried in the schools. Tokenism has never been particularly successful at dealing with any problem. There is no evidence that stricter controls at this time will have long-term effects that produce responsible, self-controlled adults for the nation's future.

It has been suggested earlier in this paper, from a variety of sources, that group discussions be regularly employed in the classroom. Group discussions are of fundamental importance for the establishment of a democratic climate in the school, for here is where much of the planning and exchange of perspectives will take place. It has also been suggested that group discussion is a vehicle by which a shift from education for facts to problem-solving processes can be accomplished. Discipline problems may be diminished when they become the concern of everyone, instead of just a contest between authority and subordinate.

VI. TEACHERS' ATTRIBUTES AND CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT

The books that spend many pages elaborating on the qualities a teacher should have if she is to be able to effectively manage a well-disciplined classroom present the picture of a candidate for sainthood. To name a few of these qualities, the teacher is supposed to be enthusiastic, courteous, kind, caring, competent, courageous, encouraging, orderly, patient, cheerful, attractive, friendly, well-prepared, thick-skinned, positive, accepting, humorous, inspiring, understanding, sympathetic, empathetic, tolerant, sincere, honest, truthful, fair, a rock, "a port in a storm", helpful, flexible, fairly uninhibited, fairly extroverted, objective, reasonable, strong and basically human. The value of this type of information is limited. Should teachers-in-training who are slightly less than "fairly uninhibited" be turned away from the profession? Can teachers be trained to be empathetic? Just how honest should the teacher be?

A considerably fewer number of pages has been spent describing actually quantifiable teacher qualities which have been correlated with student behaviour. Kounin's research has presented some of these. "Withitness" of a teacher refers to the teacher's ability to demonstrate that she does have "eyes in the back of her head". The teacher who is able to correctly identify the source of a disturbance, to meet it directly and immediately, is "with it" and as such is less likely to have frequent disturbances in her class than the teacher who makes mistaken judgments about what is going on in her classroom. Equally important, according to Kounin's results, is the teacher's capacity for "overlapping": that is, the teaching-learning situation will frequently present more than one situation for the teacher to deal with at a time; her ability to deal with two different issues that appear simultaneously correlates at once with the dgree of order in

her classroom. She might, for example, be leading a reading group in an activity and notice an argument ensuing at the science corner between two boys. If the teacher can, with a look, indicate to the two boys that she notices them, and at the same time continue without interrupting her reading group, she has indicated her capacity for "overlapping". Kounin also looked at the teacher's management of movement from one activity to another and found that both her ability to make smooth transitions from one activity to another, and her ability to avoid actions that slow the momentum of student involvement in activities, correlate significantly with the overall order of the classroom. In additon, it is noted that the teacher who is likely to be at the head of a well-ordered class is most likely to be skilled at maintaining the focus of a group of students involved in a task. Teachers accomplish this by keeping children ever ready to be called upon, holding all members of the group accountable for following the lesson, and by requiring a high degree of participation from members of a group during an activity. Because problems of discipline are more likely to occur in circumstances where pupils are satiated with a given activity, Kounin investigated the ways teachers enhance the attraction or challenge of classroom activities. He found that teachers who introduce variety and challenge in their classrooms are less likely to have to deal with behaviour problems.

Teacher styles (related to the type of leadership they provide) have been empirically investigated in a now-classic study by Lewin and others (1948). Groups of eleven-year-old children participating in after-school activities were exposed to three different types of leaders at some time during their activities. The leadership styles were classified as either authoritarian, democratic or laissez-faire. While productivity,

as measured by the number of tasks completed, was highest under the authoritarian leader, hostile and aggressive acts were also more frequent in that condition than in the others. This condition showed the greatest incidence of overt rebellion against authority and dropping out from the group. In contrast, the democratic situation appeared to produce the greatest degree of friendliness, co-operation and group concern. Work motivation was highest in this condition, a high degree of individual responsibility was assumed by group members, and the children were capable of sustaining their efforts in the absence of their democratic leader. Where complete freedom reigned, chaos did too. Under the laissez-faire condition morale and productivity were low, while aggression and confusion were high. It has been concluded that children need the guidance of a fair and democratic leader who shows genuine respect for them.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

Vredevoe (1971) reports that 95% of any given group can be depended upon to observe the rules if the rules are understood. Three to five per cent of the group will be in open defiance of them. The experience of examining the current and significant literature concerned with the problems of discipline in the schools has convinced this author that so far no panacea for the teacher has been found. All of the methods that have been presented here have been offered with the qualifier that "this may not work for all your students". The more specific the technique, such as behaviour modification, the more limited its range of effectiveness may be (i.e., limited to a specific behaviour). More general revisions of the school structure, such as those recommeded by Glasser, are aimed at satisfying more of the needs of more of the students, so that discipline problems can be eliminated at the source. Probably the most basic fact concerning this issue is that in any situation where the needs of people are not all being met, a portion of those "needing" people will react with anger, defiance, aggression or withdrawal. The only way to eliminate a five per cent fringe of deviants would be to insure that conditions always satisfied the needs of all the people. Certainly the social system as a whole is a long way from being able to satisfy all the needs of all the people, and the schools have not been designed to accommodate the wide range of emotional and learning needs that are carried into classrooms daily along with school books and pencils. The behaviourists recognize that students are coming form and going to different places and that these differences must be appreciated.

> Most of the difficulties that you will encounter in attempting to apply reinforcement principles in your classroom are attributable to the design of our current education process. It is teacher-centred. It is lock-step. Application of reinforcement principles requires that education must be student-centred and individualized. (Dollar, 1972)

So far there are no significant investigations of the correlation between classroom discipline and the degree of individualization of the educational program. Investigations in this vein would be difficult to conduct because of all the other attendant variables, but they would be most interesting to see.

Much of the public sentiment calling for stricter controls in the schools is based on the assumption that schools have gone as far as they can towards permissiveness and that has only made the educational situation worse. The call, therefore, is for tighter control from on top. It has been pointed out by many, however, that permissiveness may in fact not have worked out, but truly progressive education where students have a real say in a co-operative democratic process has yet to be tried. There is no evidence that stricter controls at this time will have long-term effects that produce responsible, self-crontrolled adults for the future.

Teacher training programs currently place most of their emphasis on instructional competence, failing to require that teachers learn those techniques which will help them to maintain order in the classroom. It has been empirically demonstrated that teachers can be trained quickly and inexpensively to apply such techniques as behaviour modification with a reasonable degree of success. Glasser and associates have established a training centre in Los Angeles where teachers and principals may learn the skills necessary for working in schools "without failure". Teachers

who have already gone through teacher training and do not have the time or money to enroll in "discipline" workshops should be provided with access to training in discipline methods just the same. If one were to compute the amount of instructional time lost because teachers have to "discipline" students, it would be apparent that weekly or bi-weekly training workshops conducted during the school day, with students released early, could be educationally economical. In order for workshops to work, however, the attitude that equates teaching competence with the ability to keep discipline would have to be suspended. The school would have to be supportive instead of critical of those teachers who have more discipline problems than others. In this way the school would also provide a model of support and co-operation for students who are often forced to be disobedient because the system has taught aggressive competition.

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APPENDIX

SURVEY ON DISCIPLINE IN THE
PUBLIC SCHOOLS

AN ANAYLSIS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS' RESPONSES
TO A SURVEY REGARDING SCHOOL AND CLASSROOM DISCIPLINE

INTRODUCTION

A questionnaire entitled Survey on Discipline in the Public Schools was distributed in January, 1976, to the 628 teachers in Junior Kindergarten through Grade 8 in the public schools (junior and senior) in The Board of Education for the Borough of York. Three hundred eighty questionnaires were returned. This return rate of 60% is somewhat low for teacher-questionnaires distributed by the Board directly to the schools.

THE SAMPLE

The questionnaires were returned by teachers representing the grades, as follows:

Kindergarten:	19%	
Grade 1:	11%	
Grade 2:	10%	
Grade 3:	8%	72%
Grade 4:	7%	
Grade 5:	7%	
Grade 6:	10%	
Grades 7 & 8:	28%	

This breakdown is close to that for the total (628) of public school teachers here, of whom 76% teach in Kindergarten to Grade 6, and 24% in Grades 7 and 8.

The average age of the respondents is 30 years, and the average number of years of experience is eight. But the single age most represented (the mode) is 25 years; and the most common length of working experience is only one year. It would appear that young and relatively inexperienced teachers are over-represented in our sample.

I. DISCIPLINE AT THE SYSTEM LEVEL

Two questions in the survey dealt with services provided by centralized personnel.

A. The first asked:

"What two things could the trustees of this school district do to help you maintain discipline more effectively?"

Responses were grouped into seven categories:

1.	Give back the strap.	40
2.	Spend more time in the schools.	48
3.	Make classes smaller.	25
4.	Other policies, including more special classes; discouraging automatic grade promotion; stricter disciplinary policies.	36
5.	Encouraging support for teachers in enforcing discipline; respect for teachers; being practical.	65
6.	Interact more with parents: make parents discipline their children; insist that parents choose special education if it is recommended for their child; define and collect public views; make community aware of school problems.	31
7.	Do not know what trustees do.	7

A total of 228 of the respondents answered this question. The most common requests were for more support for teachers and for more trustee visibility in schools. Both answers indicated a desire for a measure of respect for the position of teacher, and a belief that trustees can help school staffs create better discipline. (A very few teachers wrote in negative comments, indicating that trustees ought not to interfere in school matters.)

Forty teachers asked the trustees to reinstate the strap. (This suggestion was also made to principals, in 21 answers to another question.) In the majority of instances, teachers who recommended corporal punishment qualified it by saying it should be used very infrequently, after all other alternatives had failed. Several said that the strap should never be used, but that its value as a threat is very useful.

B. "What two things could people in the Special Services Department do to help you maintain discipline more effectively?"

1.	Provide more of the already available and valuable services (e.g. more staff, spend more time in classes, speed up response to referrals, more follow-up).	155
2.	Improve the quality of existing services (e.g., be more practical, give teachers more background information on pupils, have more contact with teachers).	72
3.	Provide new services (e.g., workshops for teachers, for parents; more special classes, either full-time or withdrawal).	84

Three quaters of the 225 respondents to this question endorsed the existing services by asking for more of them. The two principal critisisms were that teachers do not get enough information fed back to them; and that advice given is insufficiently concrete or practical.

II. DISCIPLINE AT THE SCHOOL LEVEL

Several questions were directed at discipline at the level of the school.

A. "In your opinion is the discipline in this school:"

	ALL TEACHERS	JUNIOR SCHOOL TEACHERS	SENIOR SCHOOL TEACHERS
Not strict enough	43%	40%	52%
Just about right	54%	56%	46%
Too strict	1%	2%	1%

Teachers are divided on whether or not discipline at their school is strict enough or not. Senior school teachers especially see a need for stricter discipline. Class size is also a factor: teachers with larger classes more frequently report that discipline in their school needs to be firmer.

B. "Do you think codes of conduct are best decided at the school level, rather than at the Board level?"

Yes	95%
No	5%

There is very little support for a Board policy on conduct. The minority of supporters are less experienced teachers, more likely to be in senior than junior schools, and to feel they have inadequate back-up at present.

C. "A teacher is competent to the extent that she is able to keep her pupils in order. A teacher without strong control over the behaviour of her pupils cannot do a good job teaching."

1. Do you agree with this statement?	(a) Yes	91%
	(b) No	6%
	(c) No Opinion	3%
2. Would the majority of your colleagues agree with this statement?	(a) Yes	87%
	(b) No	5%
	(c) Do Not Know	9%
3. Would the principal agree with this statement?	(a) Yes	90%
	(b) No	4%
	(c) Do Not Know	5%

D. "Do you feel you have adequate back-up in dealing with discipline problems?"

Yes 70%

No 30%

The majority is satisfied with the support they get regarding discipline. Older teachers and those teaching higher grades are less likely to be satisfied than others.

Teachers who are satisfied with the support they receive also report fewer serious discipline problems in their classes.

E. "Do you think your school accurately reflects the attitudes of the community regarding discipline."

Yes 53%

No 47%

The correlation between this response and that to the item on school discipline (A, p. 3) is quite high, indicating that the people who think that discipline is not strict enough in the school tend to be the same people as those who see the school's attitude to discipline being out of line with the community's. The underlying factor here seems to be an orientation to stricter school discipline. More than four in ten teachers feel that, if the school were stricter it would reflect the community's attitude more accurately. Of this group, a very small subsection would prefer to rely on the Board to determine a policy regarding pupil conduct for all schools. But the vast majority of those opting for stricter school discipline still see the problem as one which should be solved internally.

F. "What two things could the principal in your school do to help you maintain discipline more effectively?"

The 398 responses to this question were grouped into five categories reflecting possible roles the principal can play, as follows:

1. The principal as an administrator:

(a)	Reduce class size	4
(b)	Facilitate expulsions, suspensions, temporary withdrawals; fail pupils; withdraw privileges have stricter codes; more formal school rules and policies	97
(c)	Reinstitute corporal punishment	21
(d)	Establish special classes for problem pupils	4

2. The principal as communicator with pupils: e.g., be more consistent, forceful, strict, etc. in dealing with students; have higher expectations, praise good conduct. 81

3. The principal as communicator with teachers, e.g., be more supportive of teachers: visit classes more give teachers more autonomy; communicate rules more effectively to teachers; etc. 100

4. The principal as communicator with outsiders: e.g., bring in parents; keep parents from interfering; press for better special education services; etc. 30

5. The principal already does all he can. 61

Although 70% of the teachers indicated, in their response to an earlier question, that they have adequate back-up in disciplinary matters, slightly more than half of them were able to suggest ways the principal could help them more. The single most frequent request was for more support from him, expressed in class visits, and positive reinforcement (expressed verbally, or through increasing the teacher's autonomy).

G. "What two things could the parents of your students do to help you maintain discipline more effectively?"

Answers were divided into four categories:

1. More positive parent involvement with the school (e.g., support the teachers, co-operate with the school, do not interfere with teachers, take teacher's side of dispute with child, check children's homework). 143

2. More positive parent involvement with the children (e.g., be more loving; spend more time with children; be more interested; consistent; do not hit them; seek outside help for disturbed children). 123

3. Be stricter at home; enforce discipline. 166

4. Specific recommendations to parents at home (e.g., less television; earlier bedtime; more exercise; better nutrition). 30

The majority of teachers did have two suggestions for parents. The need for firmer discipline at home was most common (ten teachers suggest some or more corporal punishment at home), and the need for a more supportive attitude toward teachers (particularly as disciplinarians) was next.

III. DISCIPLINE AT THE CLASSROOM LEVEL

A. Discipline Problems

Teachers were asked the number of boys and girls in their class; and, of these, the number who are discipline problems. The average class size is 31, with 16 boys and 15 girls.

1. "How many pupils in your class require frequent or constant disciplining?"

The most common response (modal response) is two boys and one girl, or three children per class requiring frequent or constant disciplining. The average number is higher (3.5 and 1.8, respectively) because discipline problems cluster; thus three teachers account for 27 problem boys. Bigger classes have more children in this category.

Teachers in the higher grades cite more girls who are discipline problems than do lower grade teachers. Experienced teachers report fewer children in these categories.

2. "How many pupils do you have who you feel are impossible to cope with in a regular classroom?"

NUMBER OF BOYS	PER CENT OF TEACHERS
0	57
1	25
2	12
3	3
Over 3	2

NUMBER OF GIRLS	PER CENT OF TEACHERS
0	80
1	14
2	5
3	0
Over 3	1

Most teachers have no children whom they find impossibly difficult. But 44% have at least one such child, and more than one in ten has three such impossible ones, two boys and a girl.

The frequency of such children is reported to be higher in the higher grades, and in bigger classes.

Experienced teachers report just as many cases of "impossible" children as do inexperienced teachers. (In fact, young teachers - under age 30 - report the fewest "impossible" children.)

3. What kinds of misbehaviours are most disturbing to your classroom?

CATEGORIES OF MISBEHAVIOURS	NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED
(a) Answers that indicate that another student is the main target of the misconduct. Examples: disturbing others, stealing, destroying another's property, fighting, bullying, interrupting, name-calling.	367
(b) Answers that indicate that the teacher is the main target of the misconduct. Examples: talking back, defiance, lying to the teacher, disobeying rules, disrespectful behaviour.	283
(c) Noise: talking out, shouting, talking during lessons, etc.	201
(d) Answers which indicate that pupil's conduct is not serving his own best interest, educationally. Examples: cheating, laziness, inattentiveness, not following instructions, not finishing work.	181
(e) Other anti-social behaviour. Examples: fooling around, being over-active, attention-seeking, temper tantrums.	125
(f) Answers which indicate that the teacher's sense of correct classroom propriety is offended. (This includes all answers which suggest conduct by which the respondent is offended, but to which some other teacher might not object. Examples: gum-chewing, bad language, poor manners.)	91

Junior and intermediate division teachers differ from primary teachers in describing less student → student misconduct, and more student → teacher misconduct.

It is almost twice as likely that discipline problems will occur in the afternoon than in the morning, according to teachers. Such problems cluster particularly around afternoon recess, and at the end of the day. (This pattern could have implications for program.)

4. During what activities are discipline problems most likely to occur?

ACTIVITIES	NUMBER OF TIMES LISTED
(a) When there is free choice	66
(b) During entering and exiting and other routines.	63
(c) When children work in groups during specific subjects (especially art, physical education).	62
(d) During physically active periods.	38
(e) When children work alone.	34
(f) During discussions.	33
(g) At the beginning or end of an activity.	27
(h) When there is low structure.	26
(i) When there is high structure.	13

Two of the three most-mentioned activity-types, free choice of activities and group work, are perceived by over 60 teachers (or more than one in five of our sample), as being provocative of discipline problems. This is surprising because both kinds of practice are in fact associated with a decrease in reported disciplinary problems. (See Section III C, page 11 and 12.)

B. Classroom Organization and Management

1. Rules

a. "Most classrooms have some formal rules which apply to all members. Does your class have such rules?"

Yes 95%

No 4%

b. What are the most important rules?

CATEGORIES OF RULES	NUMBER OF TIMES LISTED
(a) Rules that prescribe classroom routines and work-related attitudes (caring for equipment, being prompt, finishing assignments, not chewing gum, cleaning up, entering and exiting).	246
(b) Rules that prescribe attitudes that children should display (being friendly and polite, honest, compassionate, helpful, co-operative, etc.)	214
(c) Rules that govern the making of sounds by students (raising hand to speak, not interrupting, etc.)	210

c. "How are the rules enforced?"

TACTIC OR METHOD	NUMBER OF TIMES LISTED
(a) Punishment (including removal of student from activity, isolation, detention from recess, dismissal from class, after-school detention, withdrawal of privileges, assignment of tasks, lines).	196
(b) Repeating the rules, and giving verbal reprimands, warnings; encouraging discussion and peer disapproval.	192
(c) Reinforcing positive behaviour (praise; smiles, privileges, etc.)	49
(d) Calling on outside help (from parents and/or principal).	23

2. Teacher's role

What are the most significant decisions you can make regarding classroom organization and management?

KINDS OF DECISIONS	NUMBER OF TIMES LISTED
(a) Curriculum-related, including program, teaching methods, evaluation standards, preparation, grouping, and scheduling.	297
(b) Behavioural and disciplinary, including establishing routines and expectations.	213
(c) Physical arrangements, provision of materials.	127
(d) Setting a tone or climate, being kind and understanding.	87

Senior school teachers are much less likely to mention curriculum-related decision making than are junior school teachers, in listing their most significant decision-making powers.

3. Pupils' role

What are the most significant decisions a pupil in your class may make regarding his classroom activities?

KINDS OF DECISIONS	NUMBER OF TIMES MENTIONED
(a) Non-work related decisions (choosing seat, selecting class leaders, selecting work or play partners, moving freely in and/or outside of classroom).	240
(b) Selection of free-time activities or extra tasks when required ones are finished.	175
(c) Choosing his own book or study topic or interest subject.	152
(d) Establishing his own schedule.	97
(e) Cannot make any decisions.	29
(f) Can evaluate his own performance.	6

Senior school teachers were three times as likely to say that their pupils are not allowed to make any decisions. Primary teachers allow more decision-making in choosing free-time activities, and in establishing a schedule for assignment completion.

4. Organization of the school day.

Teachers were asked to indicate what percentage of the class's time in a day is spent in five kinds of arrangements as follows:

(1) Pupils are free to do anything they please.

(2) Pupils work alone on projects they have selected for themselves.

(3) Pupils work in small groups on projects that the group has selected.

(4) Pupils work in small groups on projects that have been assigned to them by the teacher.

(5) Pupils work as one large group, studying one topic under the direction of the teacher.

Only single-group, teacher-directed work occupies large time blocks (more than half the day) for a considerable number of teachers. Small-group and individual work where pupils choose their topics occupy no more than one-quarter of the day in most classes. Small group work which is teacher-directed is more common, and occupies between 11 and 50% of the day for a majority of teachers. (Small-group work which is pupil-directed happens more in the classrooms of young teachers - under 30 years old.) There is a strong correlation between grade and amount of time spent in a large-group situation: the higher the grade the more of the day that is so spent; senior school classes are especially large-group centred. Primary pupils have the most freedom in choosing their activities and in working alone on self-chosen projects.

C. Relationship Between Classroom Organization and Manugment and Identified Discipline Problems

An analysis of responses to some of the questions dealing with classroom organization and management in relation to the number of children identified by teachers as discipline problems reveals some very interesting relationships.

Teachers' descriptions of the most important decisions which their pupils can make strongly correlate with the number of "impossible" children they have in their class, in the following way: the more work-related decision-making power that is given to pupils, to choose their own extra activities, schedule for assignments, books, topics of study and evaluative standards and goals, the fewer pupils there are whom the teacher finds impossible to cope with. There is no decline in the children who are frequent discipline problems; instead it is only the most serious cases which appear to decrease with increased responsibility given to the pupils.

A related co-variance is that between organization of the day and discipline problems. Those teachers who rely most heavily on the teacher-directed large group (for more than half the day, for example) have more impossible-seeming children in their class than do teachers who have pupils spend more time in small groups or working alone. (More experienced teachers rely less on large-group learning situations.) Again, it is not the milder kind of discipline problem children who are affected, but the most serious ones.

The numbers of the milder kind of discipline problem children (the ones who are difficult, but not impossible) appear to be reduced in classes where pupils are allowed to spend more time working alone on projects of their own choosing. (This happens more in the classrooms of experienced teachers.) This is part of, but not identical with, the item on pupils' decision-making responsibility. Allowing pupils to make any kind of work-related decision has a salutory effect on the most difficult children, while the specific factor which affects the less difficult ones is the combination of freedom in choosing a topic (often within certain constraints - i.e., from a list presented by the teacher) plus being able to spend some time (probably up to one-quarter of the day) working alone.

One must not mistake either the increased use of small group and individual activity, or the increased freedom of pupils to make educational choices, or the combination of the two with an unstructured, free and easy, anything goes classroom atmosphere. In fact, teachers who give pupils more responsibility do have classroom rules, which are more often presented formally than informally.

It appears that children who require frequent disciplining and children whom teachers find impossible to cope with are two different kinds of creatures. They respond positively to different approaches (more individual work in one case, more autonomy in the other); and while experienced teachers have acquired skills which help in controlling the milder problem, additional skills seem necessary in the most difficult cases.

IV. TEACHER PREPARATION AND COMPETENCE

A. Teacher Training

1. "Did any part of your teacher training help you in a specific way to deal with the kinds of discipline problems you currently face?"

Yes	27%
No	72%

Teachers who answered affirmatively cited the following specific experiences as useful:

(a)	Experience working with children in practice teaching.	24
(b)	Special education, guidance, and psychology courses.	10
(c)	Discussions of discipline techniques.	8
(d)	Emphasis on creating motivating environments.	4
(e)	Concept of positive reinforcement.	3
(f)	Behaviour modification techniques.	2
(g)	Post-certification course in Adlerian approach.	2

Younger teachers (who are presumably more recent graduates of teachers' colleges) were less, not more positive than older teachers on the value of their training for dealing with discipline problems.

2. "Should the curricula of teachers' colleges include more guidance in the area of discipline?"

Yes 91%

No 7%

Suggestions were given:

(a)	More practical orientation	52
(b)	More practice teaching (experience in classroom).	28
(c)	More and better instruction in disciplinary methods.	21
(d)	More training in psychology.	16
(e)	More work in group dynamics.	6
(f)	Training in working with parents.	4

3. "Have you read anything which has specifically influenced the way you maintain discipline in your classroom?

Yes 41%

No 58%

Only 66 mentions were made of specific books or articles. Dreikurs was mentioned in 38 of the 66 instances. Others were: Glasser, Holt, Gordon and Feder.

B. Teacher Competence

1. Do you feel a need to be more effective in your classroom disciplinary techniques?

	PER CENT OF TEACHERS CHOOSING EACH
Yes, A Great Deal More Effective	12
Yes, A Little More Effective	61
No	27

In fact, the teachers who describe themselves as most needing to be more effective are the ones who also describe their classes as having high numbers of problem children. Older teachers see themselves as more needful of help than younger ones. Female teachers are more likely to see themselves as needing help than males. Here again we find an association between discipline difficulties and organization of the day: teachers who feel least competent spend more time in teacher-directed activity.

2. Compared to five years ago, maintaining classroom discipline is:

	PER CENT OF TEACHERS CHOOSING EACH
More Difficult	55
Equally Difficult	26
Less Difficult	18

The more experienced the teacher, the greater the agreement that it is more difficult to maintain discipline now than five years ago.

The more problem children a teacher now has the more likely is he/she to think things have worsened over time.

DISCUSSION

At the System Level

While most teachers are not asking trustees for any particular action at the Board level, many of them would like to feel that Board members are supportive of their efforts in the classroom, and that the teacher is viewed with respect by the trustee. Such support and interest could be expressed, say some teachers, by increased visibility in the schools.

Teachers are not looking for a code of conduct to be established at the Board level; and only 40 have asked for the reinstatement of corporal punishment; the great majority has not.

One centralized resource which teachers find helpful and want more of is the support and assistance of special services personnel. An increased staff allocation in Special Services would be considered by a great many teachers to be a positive step in helping to deal with discipline problems; lacking that any speed-up or increase in efficiency in processing referrals and in getting feedback to teachers would be welcomed.

At the School Level

Fifty-four per cent of teachers are satisfied with the disciplinary tone of their school. But 43% are not, and think discipline should be stricter at their school. Ninety-one per cent of teachers see their role as controllers of pupil behaviour to be very central to their ability to be effective teachers, and believe their colleagues and principals would agree. Seventy per cent are satisfied with the back-up they get with disciplinary problems. About one-third would like more back-up. Teachers are divided on whether or not the school and the community are in harmony on disciplinary codes and expectations.

Ninety-five per cent of teachers see codes of conduct as appropriately established at the school level. One suggestion for the implementation of the responses summarized here is that each school's staff would be well-advised to establish written disciplinary codes, outlining expected behaviour standards, kinds of unacceptable behaviours, and ways of dealing with each kind of infraction. The rules established should deal primarily with out-of-classroom behaviour (in the halls, on the playground, in the lunchroom, at assemblies, etc.), where no single teacher has authority, but all teachers must agree. (If staffs can agree on some classroom rules which will apply in all rooms, these too could be part of the school code.) Parents and trustees should be involved, as community representatives, in evolving such codes. In that way, school and community standards can be meshed. An additional benefit of parent participation in this activity would be the opportunity to advise parents of ways in which teachers feel the home could be more supportive of the school in encouraging good habits and good intellectual and emotional fitness.

Finally, just as some teachers would like more support from trustees in the form of visitations and expressed interest, so would they (in greater numbers) like more support from their principal in the form of better communication, more classroom visits, and more respect (expressed, in part, through giving them increased autonomy).

At the Classroom Level

While many teachers are concerned with pupil behaviour outside the classroom, it is within the confines of the classroom that teachers and pupils spend most of their time, and where behaviour problems are most frequently and constantly manifest, at the cost of disrupting the class.

Our questions distinguished between two kinds of children: those who are a frequent or constant source of annoyance, through misbehaviour; and those whom teachers find virtually impossible to cope with effectively.

There do seem to be some positive steps teachers can take in changing classroom organization and routines which will significantly effect a reduction in both difficult and seemingly impossible discipline problems. Increasing the opportunities for children to work alone should reduce the number of children in the frequent/constant problem category. Giving children more freedom in choosing their own topics of study should also help. The combination of the two approaches is most beneficial.

The following suggestions are made, then, to all teachers who want to reduce the numbers of children who are serious behaviour problems in their classroom:

1. Try spending less time instructing the group as a whole; instead, set-up more opportunity for small-group and individual work.

2. Give pupils more responsibility for choosing their assignments, their schedule, and their standards of evaluation.

Both suggestions, it may be remarked, are familiar from pedagogical literature. Both involve individualization of program, something which is often advocated but is almost as often found to be difficult to achieve. Our results suggest that it is well worth working toward; and also that pupils themselves may be able to do much of the work of individualizing programs. All the work of choosing books, topics, schedules, and standards for individual pupils need not and should not fall to the teacher; it will be more effective, and will have a more positive effect on classrom behaviour, if pupils are heavily involved in decision-making. The potential pay-off of such changes in approach is very great indeed. In the short run, teachers can look for significant decreases in disruptive behaviour. In the long run, we can all look forward to the prospect of children who, through the acceptance of increased responsibility, develop self-discipline. If teachers do not give children such opportunities (and very many of them do not, at present) they can scarcely be surprised if their pupils do not develop self-discipline. One must be allowed to use a muscle - even a mental or emotional one - if it is to develop.

The pre-requisite for such a positive course of action is a measure of faith on the part of teachers in those children who cause them the greatest difficulty. This is not an easy faith to hold, and it is perhaps here that centralized personnel could be most helpful to teachers.

Several teachers indicated that training in psychology, group dynamics, special education, and guidance, have been or would be helpful to them. Many also cited the written works of Dreikurs as particularly useful. At the same time, positive reinforcement is not being used very often in developing pupils' behaviour.

In-service courses, and perhaps in-classroom visits, by trained and sympathetic persons could go a long way toward giving teachers the kind of confidence they need in themselves and in children. With such confidence, teachers would be able to increase the opportunities for their pupils to engage in the kind of decision-making that would foster their intellectual and emotional growth, at the same time that they were engaged in becoming the kind of motivated and self-disciplined people who do not create discipline problems.